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ABSTRACT

On December 21, 1961 the Brazilian Congress passed the Law of Directives and Bases of National Education, implementing the educational provisions of the Constitution of 1946. This Law of 1961 was Brazil's first general education law and was widely publicized as decentralizing the administration of and the responsibility for Brazilian education, and providing for the needed degree of flexibility for the varied regional conditions within the country. It is with such reforms and trends in Brazilian education, following implementation of the Law of 1961, that the present study is principally concerned. Part I describes the background of the national scene in which the Law of 1961 was to function. Part II discusses the system of education as it existed in 1961. Part III presents the provisions of the law, its implementation, beginning in 1962, at all levels of Brazilian education; and the implications for future educational development in Brazil. (Author)

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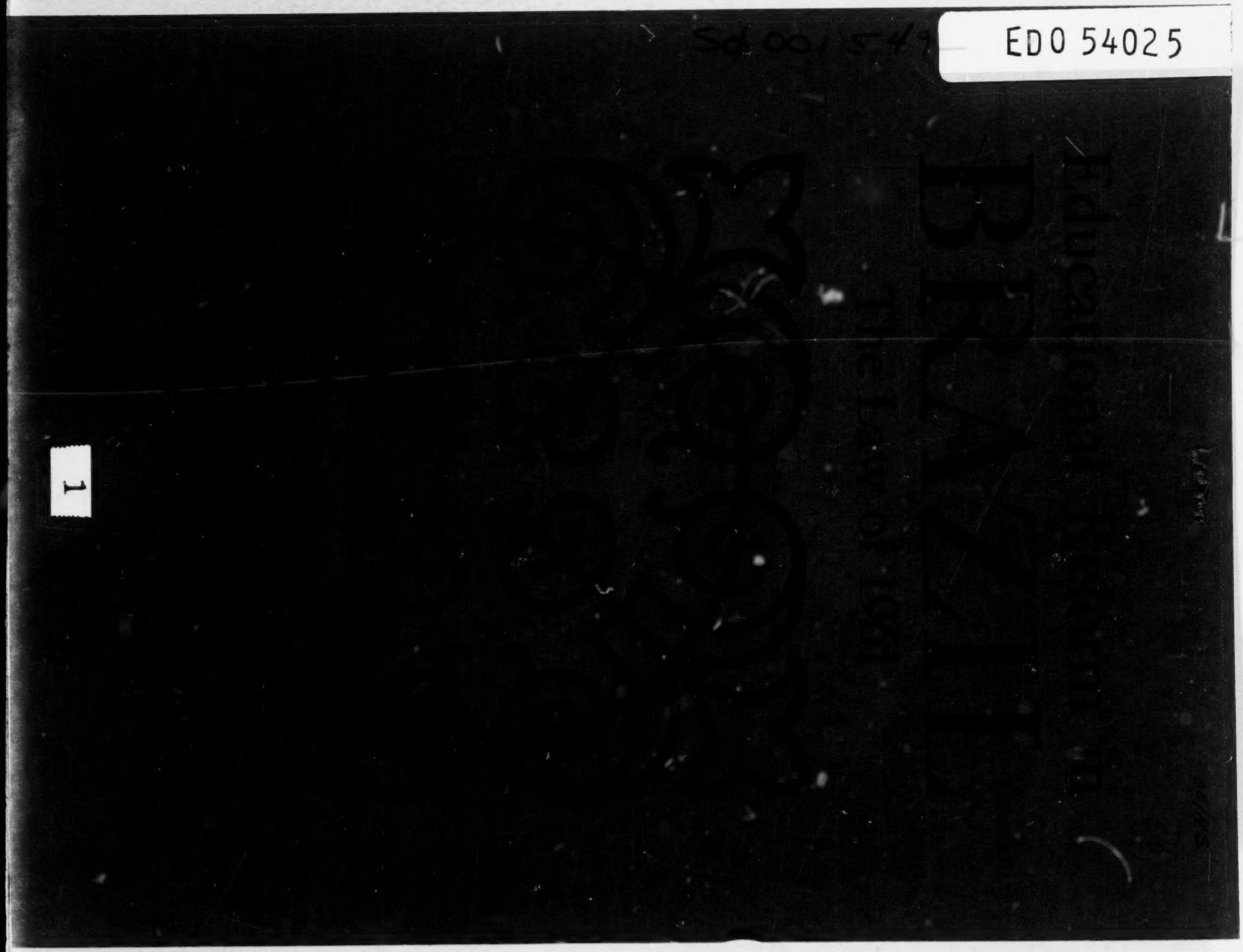

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Educational Reform in BRAZIL

The Law of 1961

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FOREWORD

Brazil is a major country. Covering half of the South American continent, it has a population of more than 85 million—almost 40 percent of the total population of Latin America.

Unfortunately, little has appeared in English on the country's educational system, especially since 1961, when Brazil's first general law on education was enacted. The implementation of the Law of 1961 has been very significant in major reforms affecting Brazilian education at all levels.

The present study constitutes a substantial source of information on the progress in Brazilian education under the Law of 1961 to the end of 1966. It is one of the Office of Education's continuing series on education in other countries, especially the developing ones.

PREFACE

Educational Reform in Brazil: The Law of 1961 is a study of legislation passed by the Brazilian Congress near the end of 1961 and the effects of the law on Brazilian education. In no sense is it an attempt to discuss all educational changes that have taken place or to predict future ones. It describes those that occurred from 1961 to near the end of 1966, when the Brazilian Constitution of 1966 was adopted. It surveys trends and gives some details on the changes.

The study is based on several sources of information. First, the author has drawn considerably from personal experience in the Brazilian system of education from 1956 to the end of 1961. A field trip which he took in April and May of 1965 afforded him an opportunity to observe at first hand some of the changes which had already occurred and to discuss with Brazilian educators their observations, opinions, and experiences. He has also drawn on printed information which he collected both in the United States and in Brazil, including documents, Government reports, newspaper articles and comments, and educational reviews.

Statistical data appearing in this report are intended only to indicate trends and to furnish information which will contribute to the overall picture of Brazilian education. Most of the percentage figures are based on slide-rule calculations and hence do not necessarily add to 100 percent.

Gratitude is expressed for the assistance given by the many Brazilian educators and others who took their valuable time to confer with the author. This group includes teachers and school administrators from both public and private schools, and government officials from both State and Federal agencies. Special thanks must be expressed to Professor José Gomes de Campos and Professora Maria de Lourdes Duarte Gonçalves who, while serving in responsible positions with the Federal Council of Education, gave the author valuable guidance.

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Introduction

On December 21, 1961, the Brazilian Congress passed the Law of Directives and Bases of National Education (*Lei de Diretizes e Bases de Educação Nacional*), implementing the educational provisions of the Constitution of 1946. This Law of 1961 was Brazil's first general education law.

Separate legislation had earlier dealt with various problems and aspects of education, but no previous Brazilian Constitution had provided for so broad a coverage of education as did that of 1946. Since no existing legal instrument implemented the specific constitutional provisions, the Brazilian system of education continued to function as it had done in the past, with concentrated control and rigid curriculum, until the Law of 1961 was passed.

The 1961 Law of Directives and Bases was widely publicized as decentralizing the administration of and the responsibility for Brazilian education, and providing for the needed degree of flexibility for the varied regional conditions within the country.

It is with such reforms and trends in Brazilian education, following implementation of the Law of 1961, that the present study is principally concerned.

The Law of Directives and Bases did not establish a new educational system. It modified the already functioning educational systems of Brazil. The existing concepts of education were not necessarily changed, and possibly are influencing and will mold the implementation of the law more than the law will change the concepts. The structures of the systems are being modified, but the concepts of how a system should function and what it should do definitely affect how and what parts of the structure will be effective. It is necessary to know something of these changes in order to understand what the law means in Brazil.

An easy approach to a study on the Law of Directives and Bases would be simply to state the provisions of the law and conclude that all parts of the legislation are being and will be implemented equally. Such an approach would be highly unrealistic. It is necessary to state the provisions of the law, but it is even more necessary to provide information about how it is being implemented. Therefore chapter 6 deals not with what should happen but what is happening in Brazilian education because of the law.

In summary, this is a three-part study:

Part I describes the background of the national scene in which the Law of 1961 was to function.

Part II discusses the system of education as it existed in 1961, before enactment of the new general law in that year.

Part III presents the provisions of the law, its implementation, beginning in 1962, at all levels of Brazilian education; and the implications for future educational development in Brazil.

PART I

The Country's Background

Chapter 1

The Influence of Social, Economic, and Political Factors on Education

A study of education in Brazil must be predicated upon a knowledge of the physical, social, and economic conditions, which vitally influence the regional development of education, and the general characteristics of the educational system as it was at the end of 1961.

For example, the varied geographic and climatic features of Brazil and their effects on culture and society were advanced by proponents of the Law of 1961 as strong arguments for the decentralization of the school system and greater flexibility in school programs and curriculums. Certainly, Brazil's swelling population, its shifting from rural to urban centers, the still sparsely populated interior of the country, and the relatively young age level of the population all present problems which vary from region to region and affect even the location of schools. This pronounced regionalism was eloquent support for those favoring decentralization of the Brazilian system of education.

GEOGRAPHY AND CLIMATE

Brazil, the fifth largest nation in the world in terms of territory, covers almost half of the South American Continent and shares in the common boundaries with all nations of that continent except Chile and Ecuador. Brazil is only slightly smaller than the United States.

Brazil is a country of such varied regional aspects that it is not possible to select any geographic characteristics as "typically Brazilian." Old eroded mountains extend along the southern Atlantic coast, reaching inland for several hundred miles in some areas. Toward the north, these coastal mountains are not so pronounced, but are rugged enough to make transportation and communications difficult. In the extreme south there are rolling hills; and in the central part of the nation, worn plateaus. The Amazon rain forest covers a good part of the rest of Brazil.

River systems in the south meet the Paraná-Paraguay which flows into the River Plate. Part of the central region is drained by the São Francisco river, which provides an inland avenue of transportation, but the Paulo Afonso Falls make impossible any shipping contact with the Atlantic. The sections of the central region not drained by the two river systems are parts of the Tocatins river system, and flow into the Atlantic near the equator. The northern part of Brazil is drained by the Amazon and its tributaries.

The climate varies as much as the terrain. The Amazon region, part of the Tocantins system, and some coastal areas are covered with tropical rain forests. The interior of the northeast part of the country is a drought region which extends down into Minas Gerais. Some of the mountainous areas of southern Brazil, although within the tropical zone, have a moderate climate similar to that of the extreme southern section. Dry and rainy seasons vary in duration and the time of year when they occur, from region to region.

The Nation is divided into 22 States, 3 Territories, and the Federal District. The State of Guanabara, which was the Federal District until 1960, covers only 450 square miles, and the State of Sergipe is about the size of Massachusetts. The State of Amazonas is larger than Alaska, and three States are larger than Texas. The national territory of Brazil, except for a few small islands, comprises one land mass, 8,511,965 square kilometers in area. Table 1 shows distribution of the population and the national area by State and Territory.

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

The 1960 census recorded the population of Brazil as almost 71 million in that year. The regional distribution at the time (table 1) indicated that 92 percent of the population was located in three of the five regions of Brazil. While these three regions constitute approximately 68 percent of the national territory, large areas of the interior

TABLE 1.—*Population and national area of Brazil, by States and territories, and density of population, by percent: 1960*

[* indicates Territory]

State or territory	Area in sq. km.[1]	Percent of national area[1]	Population[2]	Percent of national population[2]	Density of population per sq. km.[2,3]
Total	8,511,965	100.00	70,967,185	100.0	8.33
North					
Rondônia*	243,044	2.86	70,783	0.10	0.29
Acre	152,589	1.79	160,208	0.23	1.05
Amazonas	1,558,987	18.38	721,215	1.02	0.46
Roraima*	230,104	2.70	29,489	0.04	0.13
Pará	1,227,530	14.66	1,550,935	2.18	1.26
Amapá*	139,068	1.65	68,889	0.10	0.50
Northeast					
Maranhão	324,616	3.86	2,492,139	3.51	7.68
Piauí	250,934	2.95	1,263,368	1.78	5.03
Ceará	148,016	1.74	3,337,856	4.70	22.55
Rio Grande do Norte	53,015	0.62	1,157,258	1.63	21.83
Paraíba	56,372	0.66	2,018,023	2.84	35.80
Pernambuco	98,281	1.16	4,136,900	5.83	42.09
Alagôas	27,652	0.33	1,127,062	1.80	45.97
Southeast					
Sergipe	21,994	0.26	760,273	1.07	34.57
Bahia	359,921	6.59	5,990,605	8.44	10.70
Minas Gerais	583,248	6.85	9,798,880	13.81	18.80
Espírito Santo	39,368	0.46	1,188,665	1.80	30.19
Serra dos Aimorés[4]	10,153	0.12	384,297	0.54	37.85
Rio de Janeiro	42,134	0.50	3,402,728	4.80	80.76
Guanabara	1,356	0.02	3,307,163	4.66	2,824.22
South					
São Paulo	247,898	2.91	12,974,699	18.28	52.34
Paraná	199,060	2.64	4,277,763	6.03	21.48
Santa Catarina	95,483	1.13	2,146,909	3.03	22.48
Rio Grande do Sul	267,528	3.32	5,448,823	7.67	20.37
Central-West					
Mato Grosso	1,213,549	14.47	910,262	1.28	0.74
Goiás	642,036	7.54	1,954,862	2.76	5.04
Federal District	5,814	0.07	141,742	0.20	24.83
Regional Summary					
North	3,551,322	42.17	2,601,519	3.67	0.74
Northeast	985,912	11.32	15,677,995	22.09	15.90
East	1,257,989	14.80	24,832,611	34.99	9.73
South	809,060	9.70	24,848,194	35.01	30.67
Central West	1,861,399	22.04	3,006,866	4.24	1.61

[1] Brazil, Conselho Nacional de Estatística, *Anuário estatístico do Brasil 1963*. p. 12.
[2] Ibid., pp. 28–29.
[3] Ibid., 1961. pp. 29–45.
[4] The Serra dos Aimorés region was a disputed area claimed by the states of Minas Gerais and Espirito Santo. Educational statistics were included by the two States.

are sparsely settled. Two of the regions, the east and the south, cover only 24.5 percent of the nation's territory but have 70 percent of its population. The preliminary figure for 1960 (table 2) placed 45.3 percent of the population in urban areas and 54.7 percent in rural areas. Only three States, Guanabara (then the Federal District), Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo, registered a larger urban than rural population. In 1950, only 36 percent of the population was classified as rural. One writer states:

> Quantitatively and qualitatively, Brazil's population is one of the most rural in the entire world. In fact, despite a recent heavy immigration of people to the cities, the percentage of the nation's population living in communities that must be classed as strictly rural is hardly to be equaled in any other large and populous country.[1]

It should be pointed out that the Brazilian criterion allows many localities to be classified as urban in spite of their rural surroundings. In fact, the seats of any governmental units, from the district level and up, may be classed as urban and include very small villages, some with a population of fewer than 20. Under stricter criteria, Brazil would show a much larger percentage of rural population.

In the late fifties and early sixties the highway network connected many areas of Brazil. It is now possible to travel on improved roads from Pôrto Alegre into northeastern Brazil, and to the north of Salvador on paved highways. Improved roads and highways lead from Rio de Janeiro to Brasília and from São Paulo into the interior of the State. The Belem-Brasília highway, although not passable at times during the rainy season, is a link with the north.

The Brazilian economy depends heavily on trucks which reach the interior of the country on unimproved roads. Busses, which may be converted trucks on rougher roads, or modern vehicles on better highways, transport the Brazilian people from one part of the country to another. However, much of the nation is still isolated from highways, and thus is unable to participate fully in the social and economic life. Many of these localities are accessible by air, and all major population centers have frequent airline schedules throughout Brazil and to other countries. In the Amazon region, the rivers provide ample landing space for amphibious aircraft.

[1] T. Lynn Smith *Brazil: People and Institutions*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 1963. P. 75.

Urbanization was one of the most noticeable characteristics of the population in the past 20 years, as the rural population moved to the cities.

TABLE 2.—*Rural-urban population in the States and territories of Brazil, by percent: 1960*

[* indicates Territory]

State or territory	Urban	Rural
Brazil	45.33	54.67
Rondônia*	43.57	56.43
Acre	21.22	78.78
Amazonas	33.23	66.77
Roraima*	43.12	56.88
Pará	40.66	59.34
Amapá	51.37	48.63
Maranhão	18.00	82.00
Piauí	23.60	76.40
Ceará	33.70	66.30
Rio Grande do Norte	37.61	62.39
Paraíba	35.09	64.91
Pernambuco	44.88	55.12
Alagôas	33.69	66.31
Sergipe	38.92	61.08
Bahia	34.78	65.22
Minas Gerais	40.21	59.79
Espirito Santo	31.94	68.06
Rio de Janeiro	61.05	38.95
Guanabara	97.47	2.53
São Paulo	62.81	37.19
Paraná [1]	33.64	66.36
Santa Catarina	32.39	67.61
Rio Grande do Sul	44.89	55.11
Mato Grosso	39.99	60.01
Goiás	30.66	69.34
Federal District	63.28	36.72

[1] Based on incomplete data.

Source: Brazil, Ministério de Educação e Cultura. *Educação e Desenvolvimento Econômico*. 1962, p. 4 (Demographic section).

The figures below show the percentage increase in population of 10 selected Brazilian cities, 1940-60 and 1950-60.[2]

	Percent increase	
City	1940-60	1950-60
Belo Horizonte	227	96
São Paulo	188	84
Fortaleza	182	89
Curitiba	155	99
Pôrte Alegre	135	62
Recife	128	52
Salvador	125	57
Belem	94	57
Rio de Janeiro	73	27
Niteroi	72	31

[2] Brazil, Conselho Nacional de Estatística, *Anuário estatístico do Brasil, 1963*. p. 29. Adapted.

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The results of the 1960 census showed that 52.8 percent of the Brazilians were 19 years of age or younger; 42.6 percent were 14 or younger; and 26.7 were in the lower school ages of 5-14 [3] (table 3). If all school-age children of 14 years or younger had been in school, Brazil would have had about one-fourth of its population in school. In 1960 the elementary and middle-level enrollments included about 12 percent of the country's population.

TABLE 3.—*Population of Brazil: Percentage by age group and sex, 1960*

Age Group	Male	Female	Total
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*
Total	49.93	50.07	100.00
0-4	8.14	7.82	15.96
5-9	7.35	7.13	14.49
10-14	6.11	6.11	12.22
15-19	4.91	5.27	10.18
20-24	4.22	4.56	8.78
25-29	3.59	3.82	7.42
30-39	6.00	6.12	12.13
40-49	4.25	4.14	8.49
50-59	2.78	2.61	5.40
60-69	1.60	1.51	3.11
70 plus	0.83	0.93	1.76

Source: Giorgio Mortara. "A composição por sexo e idade da população do Brasil, segundo o censo de 1960." *Revista Brasileira de Estatística.* Conselho Nacional de Estatística. Ano XXVI, No. 103/104, (julho/dezembro, 1965) pp. 85-92. p. 86.

The high percentage of children and youths in the population has economic implications. Adding the 4.8 percent of the people who were 60 or older to the 14-year or younger group leaves a total of 47.5 percent of the population which may be considered at least limited in their economic activities. The rest of the population (the 52.5 percent between the ages of 15 and 59) of necessity had to support the older group, and a good percentage of the 15-59 age group were not economically productive.

THE ECONOMY

The period preceding 1962 was a time of significant industrial expansion in Brazil, with rapid development of some existing industries and the establishment of others. Steel production increased, as did chemical and pharmaceutical operations. A ship-building industry and the seventh largest automotive industry in the world were established. The importation of many manufactured products became unnecessary as *Indústria Brasileira* began to appear on more and more products. Most new industry was located in the urban areas of the south or in cities along the coast.

The annual internal income in Brazli in 1960 was not evenly distributed throughout the Nation. More than 78 percent of the national income was concentrated in the States from Minas Gerais to the south, and more than 50 percent in Rio de Janeiro, Guanabara and São Paulo. In contrast, the States of the northeast had less than 10 percent of the national income. The per capita income in Brazil in 1960 was Cr.$26,729, at that time the equivalence of about $150. Only four States, Guanabara, São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, and Paraná surpassed the national average. These four States in 1960 had 61.7 percent of the national income, 36.6 percent of the total population, and 8.8 percent of the land area.[4]

The minimum salary set by the Ministry of Labor applied only to employees of industrial and commercial firms and not to agricultural workers, who usually earned much less. According to one source, the per capita income for all Brazil is not representative of the true situation: São Paulo and the surrounding area are socially and economically typical of the part that has a per capita income of $350 to $1,000 a year. The rest of Brazil, repsented by the States of the north, the northeast, and even the central regions, have some of the lowest per capita incomes in the world, comparable only to the poorest regions of Asia and Africa, where the income per person does not surpass $120 a year.[5]

Economically, however, Brazil remained an agricultural country and a sizable percentage of its industry was based on the processing of agricultural products. Coffee continued to account for more than half of the foreign exchange earned, and other agricultural products surpassed industrial exportation in value.

In a country where agriculture is the principal economic activity, land ownership is indicative of the distribution of resources. In 1960, for example,

[3] Giorgio Mortara, "A composição por sexo e idade da população de Brasil, segundo o censo de 1960." *Revista Brasileira de Estatística.* Ano XXVI, No. 103/104 (julho/dezembro, 1965) p. 86.

[4] *Anuário estatístico do Brasil—1936.* p. 270.

[5] *Situação social da América Latina.* Rio de Janeiro: Centro Latino Americano de Pesquisas em Ciências Sociais, 1965. pp. 10–11.

more than 47 percent of agricultural lands were in holdings of 1,000 hectares or more, divided into less than one percent of the total farming establishments.[6] Although the size of holdings varied considerably from State to State, *latifundia* (with the accompanying *minifundia* in the northeast) seemed to be the prevailing pattern of distribution of Brazilian land ownership. The 1960 distribution is shown in the following tabulation: [6]

Size of holdings (by hectares)	*Percent of total farms*	*Percent of total farm area*	*Percent of area under cultivation*
Less than 10	44.7	2.23	13.31
10-99	44.62	17.97	44.70
100-999	9.41	32.51	30.50
1,000-9,999	0.73	27.42	9.95
10,000 plus	0.005	19.87	1.54

THE GOVERNMENT

Under the Constitution of 1946, and the present Constitution of 1966, the United States of Brazil constitutes a Federal Republic, the political power originating with the people and exercised in their name by their elected representatives. The union, as it is described in the Constitution, is divided into 22 States, 3 Territories, and a Federal District. All States and Territories, except for the Federal District and the State of Guanabara, are divided into municipalities (*municípios*), which are subdivided into administrative districts. The municipality is the smallest political unit, and includes both urban and rural areas within its boundaries. The administrative structure of a municipality in Brazil resembles a county of the United States, without incorportated towns, or the combination city-county, as found in some States of the United States.

The Federal Government of Brazil is divided into the executive, legislative, and judicial branches. The President, who is elected for a 5-year term, heads the executive branch and is assisted by ministers who direct the various departments which perform the executive functions of government. The bicameral legislative branch is composed of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate. The judicial branch is made up of the Supreme Court, Federal courts of appeals, and military, electoral, and labor tribunals of different levels.

[6] *Anuário estatística do Brasil—1963.* pp. 56–57.

Each State has a constitution which provides for executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government. The executive branch is headed by a governor, who is elected for a 4- or 5-year term.

A municipality (*município*) is organized according to the laws of the State of which it is a part. An elected prefect (*prefeito*) is the administrative head of the unit, and an election council (*câmara de vereadores*) has legislative, and at times, some administrative functions. The prefect is assisted by department heads who administer the various divisions of the municipal government. The franchise is open to all literate citizens who can communicate in the national language and are 18 years of age. Persons who have permanently or temporarily lost their political rights and enlisted members of the armed forces do not vote.

POLITICAL FACTORS

Since the beginning of its political independence in 1822 Brazil has had to contend with the question of centralized versus decentralized government. The nation, which is composed of what has been referred to as "islands of culture" scattered along the coast, has been subject to strong regional tendencies which have obstructed the process of national unification. These tendencies remain, although they are diminishing as a result of the increase in facilities for communications and transportation. Regionalism has been partly responsible for the advocacy of decentralized government.

The Constitution of 1824 made provision for a centralized government, but this was modified to some extent by the Additional Act of 1834. The trend turned toward centralization in 1840, when interpretive legislation diminished the decentralizing effects of the Additional Act. The Constitution of 1891 was a decentralizing document, at some points exaggerating the autonomy of the States.

In 1930 the Vargas regime came to power, bringing definite centralizing measures. One of the first acts of the new government was to establish a Ministry of Education and Health, whose first Minister, Francisco Campos, began to modify and centralize the Brazilian educational system. From 1930 to 1934 no Constitution was in effect, and Getulio Vargas was the dictator. The dictatorship continued to some degree after the adoption of the 1934 Constitution under which he was President.

In 1937 Vargas promulgated the new State (*Estado Novo*), which was totalitarian. Vargas

was the dictator legally as well as in fact. Under his regime the heads of the State governments were appointed by the national government, and most governmental functions were directly or indirectly centralized. The bloodless coup of 1945 removed Vargas from the dictatorship, and the Constitution of 1946 restored some power to the States but retained considerable authority for the national government.

Vargas was returned to the presidency in 1950 by a free election as the legally elected chief executive. His administration met with strong opposition, and he was unable to solve problems with the methods he had used as a dictator. He governed according to the Constitution but, confronted with increasing opposition to himself and his family, committed suicide in 1954. His death did not remove his influence from the political scene. Men who had served under Vargas continued in power until Jánio Quadros became President in 1961. He resigned after only eight months in office. The Vice President, João Goulart, a former labor minister under Vargas, became President under a modified parliamentary regime.

Theoretically, the Vargas position was socialistic, and supposedly Vargas and his followers were the protectors of the working classes. They sponsored legislation which improved the status of labor and apparently worked for a socialistic regime; however, in practice, their behavior was closer to a much more conservative position.

SOME EFFECTS OF THE COUNTRY'S BACKGROUND ON EDUCATION

Brazil is a large nation composed of many regions with significant differences and varied characteristics. The differences of terrain and climate affect the adaptation of the people to their environment and influence spatial distribution of population. The national life depends on systems of transportation and communication which are in varying stages of development. An educational system which serves the needs of different regions must be able to adapt to the particular situation, and solutions and methods which are adequate for one region may be unsuitable for the demands of another. This argument was used by the proponents of the Law of Directives and Bases, pointing out that the law required a decentralization of education which would allow the necessary degree of flexibility for regional adaptation.

The demographic factors are important when considering education in Brazil. With the high rate of increase in population, greater demands are made each year on the educational system so that plans made for even projected situations are often inadequate long before their implementation can become a reality.

Most of Brazil's population is concentrated near the coast, leaving vast areas with such sparse population that it is impossible for even small, one-room schools to function. Even in the rural areas, near the coast, population density is usually not sufficient to support more than one- or two-room schools. Road systems are still not developed enough to permit daily transportation of students to school; and if they were adequate, economic factors would prohibit the operation of school busses. Substantial percentages of the total population in 1960 were located in these rural areas.

Another demographic factor of importance is the age distribution of the population. With more than half of the population age 19 or younger, and about 35 percent in the elementary and middle-level school-age groups, the Nation would have had to invest a large proportion of its material resources and of its trained manpower in the school system, if all of these groups had been in school. Considering also the schools of higher education and their enrollment with the lower-level groups, Brazil would have been confronted with education as almost its primary activity.

The economic aspects of the young population also affected education. The percentage of individuals who were in the economically active age groups was so low that their productivity was expended in merely supporting the nonproductive age groups. While a large proportion of Brazil's population was in need of the benefits of an educational system, a proportionally smaller group was contributing to its support.

The overall economic situation in Brazil also affected the school system. Low per capita incomes restricted the amount of money raised by taxes for schools. Economic instability and inflation made planning difficult and caused projected resources to be insufficient. An added economic factor was industrialization. There was an increase in the demand for skilled workers and for persons who had sufficient background to learn new processes of production. The educational system was

not prepared for meeting these demands, and the concepts of education held by the general population did not coincide with the necessities of an industrialized society. Although Brazil remained largely an agricultural nation, the trend towards industrialization, especially in some regions of southern Brazil, demonstrated deficiencies in the educational system. As for the agricultural sector, the largest part of the economy, the schools had included only a minute percentage of students who were studying in this field on any level.

The influence of government and politics on an educational system in a society where the political institutions controlled almost all process of education, private or public, is obvious. In Brazil, before 1962, trends in government and politics affected the operation of the educational system, and the different political currents reacted to a general educational law, such as the 1961 Law of Directives and Bases.

PART II

Brazilian Education: 1961

Chapter 2

The Education System

Brazilian education at the end of 1961 was not the product of one period of Brazilian history, but the result of approaches, concepts, and structures which were developed in Brazil or adapted from the educational systems of other countries. The system of education had experienced other reforms before the enactment of the 1961 Law of Directives and Bases, but none as far-reaching, and each had contributed to the educational mosaic. In addition to the formal legislation which molded the structure and practices of the Brazilian system, the overall society influenced the educational institution as a whole and affected the implementation of legal provisions.

The Law of 1961 did not essentially change the general structure of the Brazilian system of education, but did bring about significant modifications within the existing levels. A review of the structure in 1961 may be helpful in understanding the law and the effects of its implementation, which began in 1962.

LEVELS AND FUNCTIONS

The three levels of Brazilian education in 1961 were elementary (*ensino primário*), middle-level (*ensino médio*),[1] and higher (*ensino superior*). These levels, distinct and separate in administration and organization, were isolated from each other to such an extent that coordination was limited, and each level seemed to function as an independent unit.

Elementary education included preschool, as well as the 3- to 5-year elementary program, the 4-year system being prevalent. Pupils normally entered school at the age of 7. Elementary school programs had some uniformity, but under the separate administration of the States, varied in length of study required and in organization.

The middle level was generally divided into two cycles, the first of 4 years and the second of 3 years. The majority of middle-level students were enrolled in programs under the administration of the Ministry of Education and Culture, through its various directorates, the general secondary (*ensino secundário*) program attracting the larger number. Other types of programs were the commercial (*ensino comercial*); normal school (*ensino normal*) for the training of elementary school teachers; industrial (*ensino industrial*); and agricultural (*ensino agrícola*).

Higher education was provided in faculties (*faculdades*), which might or might not be components of a university, and in institutes which were part of a university system or of a faculty. A majority of students at the higher education level were enrolled in independent faculties.

Other schools on the middle and higher levels were organized for the training of officers for the three branches of the armed forces, under the respective branches of the military service—army, navy, and air force. Such schools were also recognized by the Ministry of Education.

Schools for the education of clergy were sponsored by various religious groups and usually followed the structure of general secondary and higher education. On the middle level, some schools met the Ministry of Education requirements for the general secondary program, and studies performed in these schools were officially recognized; but the Ministry did not have any administrative relationship with the religious activities of these or any other schools. For some purposes, such as admission to a faculty of philosophy, education in a seminary on the higher level could receive official consideration. Generally speaking, however, the Government did not recognize or become involved

[1] The term "middle-level" is used throughout this study instead of "secondary level" to avoid confusion with the *general secondary* program, which in Brazilian education is called secondary (*secundário*).

in the training of clergymen for any religious group.

Apprenticeship training was directed and administered in schools sponsored by special agencies of the Federal Government. The National Service of Industrial Apprenticeship, SENAI (*Serviço Nacional de Aprendizagem Industrial*), and the National Service of Commercial Apprenticeship, SENAC (*Serviço Nacional de Aprendizagem Comercial*) received funds equal to a certain percentage of the payroll of all commercial and industrial firms to support apprenticeship training. Not all the programs offered were related to more formal education, but some of the schools sponsored by the federal agencies met the regulations of the Ministry of Education, and offered officially recognized middle-level commercial and industrial programs. There were also some private schools for teaching certain trades and skills, usually in short-term courses.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

The administrative responsibility for elementary education in Brazil, prior to 1962, rested with the individual States; the Federal Government provided general guidelines and exercised jurisdiction over the federally owned schools and those located in the territories. Each State, through its own legislation, governed the organization and operation of the elementary schools within its boundaries. In varying degrees, partial responsibility was delegated to the municipal units of government.

The State Secretariat of Education of the vari-

TABLE 4.—*Percent of total elementary school enrollment, by States or territories, operating authority, and type of school: 1961*

[* indicates Territory]

State or territory	Operating authority				Type of school	
	Federal	State	Municipal	Private	Urban	Rural
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Brazil	0.4	63.4	24.3	11.8	61.2	38.8
Rondônia*	80.8	.....	.....	19.2	65.0	35.0
Acre	71.4	.....	13.6	15.0	63.5	36.5
Amazonas	.....	79.8	1.3	18.9	58.7	41.3
Roraima*	72.4	.....	.....	27.6	65.6	34.4
Pará	2.3	68.0	17.9	11.8	48.9	51.1
Amapá*	66.9	.....	3.9	29.0	63.9	34.1
Maranhão	.....	26.6	54.6	18.4	46.9	53.1
Piauí	0.1	51.2	33.4	15.0	52.0	48.0
Ceará	.....	32.2	52.1	15.7	49.5	50.5
Rio Grande do Norte	.....	51.4	25.4	22.7	50.5	49.5
Paraíba	0.9	42.4	45.2	10.6	46.9	54.1
Pernambuco	0.8	36.3	43.4	18.3	60.8	39.2
Alagôas	.....	30.8	49.9	19.2	59.0	41.0
Sergipe	0.1	53.7	30.0	15.1	53.6	46.6
Bahia	.....	52.3	38.0	9.5	63.0	37.0
Minas Gerais	0.2	71.5	23.7	4.6	61.2	38.8
Espirito Santo	.....	85.4	11.8	2.9	40.5	59.5
Rio de Janeiro	.....	53.6	24.4	21.9	66.2	33.8
Guanabara	.....	73.4	.....	26.6	83.0	17.0
São Paulo	.....	84.0	9.7	6.3	76.6	23.4
Paraná	.....	71.3	20.9	7.8	53.0	47.0
Santa Catarina	.....	74.9	12.4	4.1	36.2	63.8
Rio Grande do Sul	.....	44.5	41.1	14.6	49.0	51.0
Mato Grosso	.....	68.6	8.9	22.4	64.6	35.4
Goiás	0.6	.....	13.8	17.0	66.2	33.8
Federal District [1]	.....	.....	.....	100.0	35.5	64.5

[1] Public school system did not function in the Federal District of Brasilia until after 1961.

Source: Adapted from Brazil, *Conselho Nacional de Estatística, Anuário estatístico do Brasil—1963*, pp.

ous States determined the official programs for both private and public schools, and the certificate requirements for elementary school teachers. In most States the majority of students were enrolled in State-operated schools, but in five States, a larger percentage attended municipal schools. Less than 1 percent of students on the elementary level were in federally operated schools, and less than 12 percent in private schools (table 4). Elementary schools, principally the public schools, were subject to inspection by the State or other agency responsible for their administration. Private elementary schools frequently functioned with almost no attention from government authorities.

Organization

The standard elementary school provided 4 years of instruction, with 5 years permitted in several States. Some of the 4-year schools, both public and private, offered an unofficial fifth year, especially to prepare students for the admission examination required by the middle-level school. By no means, however, did all Brazilian elementary schools offer either the standard 4 or 5 years of instruction. In rural areas, especially in one-teacher schools, students frequently had no more than 2 years of instruction, although in some States a 3-year official rural curriculum was available.

Public elementary schools usually functioned as independent units unless they served as laboratory schools for teacher-training institutions. It was common for a private elementary school to be an integral part of an institution which offered middle-level programs.

Teachers and Teaching Conditions

A fully certified elementary school teacher, by qualification, was assumed to be at least a graduate of a normal school at the middle level. On this basis a properly certified elementary teacher would have a minimum of 11 years of schooling, but by no means was this true for all teachers. Table 5 shows that in 1961 an overwhelming majority of Brazilian elementary school teachers (94 percent) were women and that in only six States were more than 50 percent of the teachers graduates of normal schools. For the Nation, the total of all elementary teachers (men and women) so qualified was 56 percent. Other teachers might have been graduates of the first cycle of the normal school or they might have received some type of certification by taking an examination administered by State or municipal authorities. In schools where teachers even with this qualification were unavailable, the teacher might have been a volunteer who had not completed the elementary school.

As a general rule the urban schools were well staffed with graduates of normal schools, whereas the rural schools had to accept whatever teachers were available. Most States did not attempt to control the qualifications of teachers in private schools, some of which functioned under excellent conditions. Others, however, were located in the residences of the teachers, some of whom were housewives very likely willing to teach for a small monthly payment for each pupil.

TABLE 5.—*Percent of elementary school teachers represented by women and by normal school graduates (men and women), by States and territories: 1961*

[* indicates Territory]

State or territory	Women	Graduates of normal schools (men and women)
	Percent	*Percent*
Average	94.0	56.6
Rondônia*	85.0	21.9
Acre	95.8	28.2
Amazonas	87.6	33.7
Roraima*	79.5	58.1
Pará	96.6	20.5
Amapá*	91.6	35.5
Maranhão	94.1	25.5
Piauí	91.6	34.0
Ceará	97.4	27.1
Rio Grande do Norte	97.2	16.7
Paráiba	98.0	20.8
Pernambuco	97.6	48.7
Alagôas	95.9	40.5
Segipe	98.0	25.5
Bahia	95.8	60.3
Minas Gerais	98.0	57.8
Espirito Santo	97.7	62.2
Rio de Janeiro	98.7	51.6
Guanabara	97.6	76.7
São Paulo	92.5	97.7
Paraná	92.5	30.4
Santa Catarina	82.1	41.6
Rio Grande do Sul	88.0	44.0
Mato Grosso	82.2	20.4
Goiás	87.6	29.5
Federal District	97.5	90.5

Source: Adapted from Brazil, Conselho Nacional de Estatística, *Anuário estatístico do Brasil*—1963. p. 359.

School conditions varied as widely as teacher qualifications. Well-organized, well-staffed, and well-equipped schools were found in some urban areas. The problem of overcrowding and the lack of facilities, in both public and private schools, was acute in the cities which had increased rapidly in population. Some school buildings were used for three or four different sessions each day. Under such conditions, efficient instruction was difficult. Rural schools were known for general inadequacy. In September 1961 the Prime Minister of Brazil stated that one-third of the country's elementary school students were in rural schools which operated under such conditions that children could hardly become literate.[2] In 1961, 38.8 percent of the total elementary school population were enrolled in schools classified as rural (table 4).

Enrollment

Not all children of school age enjoyed the benefits of Brazilian elementary education. According to Brazil's report to an educational conference in Santiago, Chile, in 1962, about 7.5 of 14 million children between the ages of 7 and 14, were enrolled in the elementary schools. Thus, only about 50 percent of this age group had opportunity to obtain early general education. A child normally entered school when 7 years old and completed the fourth year at the age of 12, although a large percent of 13- and 14-year-olds remained in the elementary school. Some students from the age of 11 and above enrolled in the middle-level school, but the addition of these students would only have increased the proportion of enrollment to approximately 65 percent. It was clear that more than one-third of Brazilian children between the ages of 7 and 14 were not enrolled in school.

The enrollment varied from State to State. In Maranhão, for example, 56 students per 1,000 of the general population were in elementary school; in Santa Catarina, 136 per 1,000, the national average being 94 students. Between 70 and 85 percent of elementary school students in most States and territories, and 74 percent of those in the Nation were concentrated in the first and second grades.

Table 6 shows the percentage of all elementary school pupils enrolled in each grade in 1961. Although these figures are not for successive years, they do indicate that the fourth grade had a much smaller enrollment than the first grade, a proportion which was more or less constant in the years before 1961. Table 17 indicates that in all but four States more than 80 percent of the children who entered the first grade did not reach the fourth.

In Brazilian terminology, the "effective" matriculation figures, based on actual class attendance and including only those students who were present for a certain percent of the school year, showed increases in elementary enrollment from 3,709,887 in 1950 to 6,711,258 in 1961, and to 7,357,711 in 1962, or increases respectively of 81 and 98 percent. The increase for the 10-year period, 1950-60, was 64 percent.[3]

MIDDLE-LEVEL EDUCATION

Middle-level education (*ensino médio*) included all programs of study which required for admission the successful completion of the elementary level or proof of equivalent academic attainment. The several types of programs each had distinct administrative procedures and regulations:

General secondary (*ensino secundário*)
Normal school (*ensino normal*)
Commercial (*ensino comercial*)
Agricultural (*ensino agrícola*)
Industrial (*ensino industrial*)
Specialized military schools

Administration

Government control was a strong characteristic of middle-level education. The Federal Government, through the various directorates of the Ministry of Education and Culture, determined the norms for general secondary, industrial, and commercial programs and for agricultural education through the Ministry of Agriculture. The three military ministries maintained and administered the middle-level schools which prepared candidates for the higher-level military institutions. The organic law for teacher education, as provided in Federal legislation, set the general pattern for State-controlled normal schools.

The State governments could administer normal schools within their own boundaries and maintain other middle-level schools which followed the Fed-

[2] *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 84, p. 3.

[3] Based on: Brazil, Conselho Nacional de Estatística, *Anuário estatístico do Brasil—1963*, p. 359; 1961. p. 361; 1964. p. 338, and Brazil, Conselho Nacional de Estatística, *Brasil em números*; 1963, p. 128.

eral administrative norms. Municipal governments also maintained the facilities for middle-level schools but had no administrative control over their procedures. Table 7 presents the division of middle-level students among schools operated by the three levels of government and by nongovernmental organizations.

Program Cycles

The 7-year middle-level programs were divided into two cycles: the first, including 4 years of study, followed by the second cycle of 3 years. Shorter programs were offered in the field of industrial and agricultural education and, in some States, the second cycle of the normal school could be extended to 4 years. Students completing the first cycle of the general secondary school were eligible for admission to the second cycle of other types of programs.

Individual schools frequently offered more than one type of program. Although the first cycle of the general secondary program was prevalent in most schools, others, especially commercial schools, offered only the second cycle. Combinations of various types of programs of both cycles were not unusual. Usually, agricultural and industrial pro-

TABLE 6.—*Percent of total elementary school enrollment, by grades and by States or territories: 1961*

[* indicates Territory]

State or territory*	Percent in grades—			
	First	Second	Third	Fourth
Brazil*	52.3	21.7	15.5	9.9
North				
Rondônia* [1]	60.6	17.2	11.0	7.2
Acre	61.0	17.1	12.7	9.0
Amazonas [1]	70.0	13.0	8.4	5.0
Roraima*	58.3	19.1	12.8	9.6
Pará	65.0	17.6	11.3	5.9
Amapá*	68.0	14.3	11.5	6.0
Northeast				
Maranhão	63.9	19.4	10.3	6.2
Piauí	69.7	16.8	8.5	4.7
Ceará	73.8	13.6	7.7	4.8
Rio Grande do Norte	64.7	18.6	10.7	5.6
Paráiba	69.6	15.8	9.6	5.0
Pernambuco [1]	63.0	16.3	10.5	6.6
Alagôas	70.6	14.3	9.5	4.8
East				
Sergipe	75.2	13.2	7.1	4.4
Bahia [1]	60.2	17.9	11.5	6.5
Minas Gerais [1]	53.0	22.3	15.9	8.5
Espirito Santo	55.7	21.1	14.2	8.9
Rio de Janeiro	56.4	19.5	15.5	8.8
Guanabara	39.9	24.4	20.6	14.9
South				
São Paulo	36.1	28.4	20.6	14.7
Paraná	53.9	21.8	15.5	8.8
Santa Catarina	51.4	23.1	16.2	9.0
Rio Grande do Sul	46.4	21.5	18.5	13.4
Central west				
Mato Grosso	63.9	17.9	10.9	9.7
Goiás	61.2	19.3	12.4	7.0
Federal District [1]	47.4	20.8	15.8	10.9

[1] Does not include small percentages listed in the fifth year.
Source: Adapted from Brazil, Conselho Nacional de Estatística, *Anuário estatístico do Brasil—1963*, p. 361.

TABLE 7.—*Number and percent of middle-level school enrollment, by programs, cycles, and operating authorities: 1960*

Program	Middle-level enrollment		Enrollment by cycle				Enrollment by operating authority							
			First		Second		Federal		State		Municipal		Private	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	1,308,044	100.0	1,006,907	100.0	301,137	100.0	35,379	2.7	382,757	29.3	33,202	2.5	856,806	65.5
General secondary	960,489	73.6	835,163	83.3	125,327	41.6	20,286	1.9	312,297	32.4	23,851	2.4	604,055	62.5
Commercial	209,733	16.0	118,614	11.7	91,119	30.2	844	0.4	11,040	5.2	7,625	3.6	190,224	90.7
Normal	100,369	7.6	27,948	2.7	72,421	24.2	490	0.4	46,047	45.9	1,726	1.7	52,106	51.9
Industrial	30,759	2.3	20,300	2.0	10,459	3.4	9,509	30.8	10,922	35.5	.....	.....	10,328	33.6
Agricultural	6,694	0.5	4,883	0.4	1,811	0.6	4,150	62.0	2,451	36.6	.....	.....	93	1.3

Source: Brazil, Ministério de Educação e Cultura, *Sinopse estatistica do ensino médio—1961*, p. 7.

grams were offered in schools specializing in one area subject matter.

Purpose of Programs

The stated objectives of the middle-level programs varied according to the types offered:

Commercial, agricultural, and industrial schools prepared technicians and workers for their respective fields.

Normal schools provided education for teachers at the elementary level.

General secondary programs continued the development of students following the elementary school and provided foundation for higher education. They therefore had more prestige than other types of middle-level programs.

Admission and Transfer

Admission to the first cycle of a middle-level program was based on an examination, presumably to enable the student to demonstrate adequate elementary school preparation. Only students of 11 years or older who presented the required documents were eligible to take the examination. Students who successfully completed the first cycle or the general secondary first cycle were admitted to the second cycle of a program. Other students were required to take an adaptation examination for admission to the second cycle.

Adaptation examinations were also required for a student transferring from one program to another before completing his program within a cycle. Subject matter of the examination was determined according to the program to which the student was transferring. Students were allowed to transfer from one official school to another, without examination, provided they followed their same program. Schools were allowed to establish some additional criteria for admission and transfer.

Until 1953, students who had completed programs other than the general secondary were permitted to seek admission only to programs in schools of higher education which were related to their middle-level studies. After that year all middle-level school graduates could seek admission to any school of higher education through adaptation examinations.

Curriculums

The curriculum of middle-level education varied according to the individual programs of study, but some general characteristics prevailed.

In official middle-level schools throughout Brazil the exact plan of study was determined by the Ministry of Education and Culture. Some flexibility was permitted in programs of normal schools, but their general plan was the same. Critics described this situation as being rigid and inflexible, prohibiting experimentation. Proponents described it as being uniform and preventing confusion and disorder.

Another characteristic was the encyclopedic scope of curriculums. The commercial, industrial, and agricultural programs did require fewer subjects than the general secondary studies, but the curriculums would still be described as encyclopedic. Most educators were critical of the number of subjects required, but had no choice other than to accept the federally prescribed curriculum.

A degree of specialization was possible within the various types of instruction:

> The second cycle of the general secondary program was divided into the classical and scientific curriculums, the scientific attracting the overwhelming majority of students.
>
> The bookkeepers' diploma (*contador*) from the commercial program qualified the student as a bookkeeper; certificates following completion of the agricultural and industrial programs qualified the holder as technician in his area of specialization.
>
> The normal school diploma conferred the title of professor and served as a teacher's certificate for the elementary school.

Experimental Classes

In 1958 the Directorate of General Secondary Education authorized experimentation in middle-level schools offering instruction under its jurisdiction. Under plans approved by the Directorate, schools were able to vary curriculums, teaching methods, and materials, and the program organization of either or both of the cycles of the general secondary program. By 1961, 45 schools had enrolled more than 4,000 students in the experimental classes.[4] The period from 1958 to 1961 was not sufficient time for proper evaluation of the results of the innovations made, but the activities undertaken created a generally favorable reaction. This was one step, although a small one, in the direction of more autonomy for the middle-level school.

[4] Nadia Cunha and Jayme Abreu. "Classes secundárias experimentais-balanço de uma experiência." *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos*, XL (julho-setembro, 1963), p. 105.

Teacher Preparation

A teacher-pupil ratio for Brazilian middle-level schools would be meaningless, because of the number of teachers who give only part time to their profession or teach the same subject in different schools. Such a ratio, calculated on the number of pupils and the number of teachers, would doubtless indicate that there were few students in each classroom, whereas the contrary was usually true. Supposedly, the number of students in each class was limited to 50, a number frequently reached and sometimes exceeded.

The faculty of philosophy was the accepted medium of teacher education for general secondary and normal schools, and for teachers of academic subjects in other middle-level programs. It was not possible for the schools to demand this type of preparation because of the shortage of teachers at the middle level. Teacher-candidates for the normal schools also attended the institutes of education (for further specialization) connected with the normal schools. All middle-level teachers for programs under the Ministry of Education were required to register with the Ministry. The registry of a *licenciado* diploma from a university faculty of philosophy qualified the holder to teach the subject related to his specialization.

For teacher-candidates who were not graduates of a faculty of philosophy there were other means for qualifying as middle-level teachers. The Ministry of Education sponsored short summer courses, in which the candidate studied the subject he wished to teach, as well as education methods. Examinations included a demonstration of classroom teaching by the candidate, and successful completion of the short course qualified him to teach the one subject studied.

Because of the shortage of graduates from university faculties of philosophy, the short course method of teacher-preparation for the middle-level was widespread, but was beginning to be limited to candidates who intended to teach in schools located in cities where there was no university faculty of philosophy.

Private Schools

One prominent characteristic of middle-level education in Brazil in 1961 was the number of private institutions, whose programs were identical to those offered by public schools of the same type. The diplomas and certificates issued by the private schools had equal validity with those from public

institutions. Transfers from public to nonpublic schools, and vice versa, were on the same basis as transfers between schools of the same type.

Private participation included both profit and nonprofit institutions. In the nonprofit group were the schools related to religious groups and those maintained by foundations. The schools affiliated or owned by religious groups, Roman Catholic, Protestant, and others, varied considerably in the degree to which they emphasized their religious orientation, some requiring extensive participation in sectarian activities, and others adopting a more informal approach.

The profit-motivated schools were owned by individuals, groups, or corporations, which functioned with varying degrees of efficiency. Some of the better administered schools owned their facilities, and regularly sought to improve them. Others had highly inadequate facilities in rented quarters. Some schools were well-directed enterprises which rendered real service to a nation having a marked shortage of middle-level schools. However, others were termed "education counters" (*balçōes de ensino*), collecting fees and giving the student a minimum of instruction.

Enrollment

The number and percentage of students enrolled in 1961 in the first and second cycles of the various middle-level programs are shown in table 7. Only the normal schools had a larger proportion of students in the second cycle than in the first. Almost two-thirds of all middle-level students were enrolled in the first cycle of the general secondary program, and almost three-fourths of the total school population at this level were in the general

TABLE 8.—*Percent of total middle-level enrollment, by year and type of program: 1950-61*

Year	Percent enrollment in middle-level programs—					General secondary
	Total	Agricultural	Commercial	Industrial	Normal	
1950	100	0.82	14.1	3.5	6.1	75.0
1951	100	0.68	14.1	3.2	6.5	75.4
1952	100	0.62	14.0	2.9	6.9	75.5
1953	100	0.68	14.0	2.7	7.1	75.4
1954	100	0.68	14.2	2.6	7.4	74.0
1955	100	0.60	14.5	2.5	7.4	74.7
1956	100	0.46	15.0	2.2	7.5	74.7
1957	100	0.46	15.3	2.2	8.1	73.9
1958	100	0.52	15.6	2.1	7.8	73.5
1959	100	0.51	15.9	2.0	7.6	73.8
1960	100	0.57	15.8	2.2	7.6	73.8
1961	100	0.50	16.0	2.3	7.6	73.6

Source: Adapted from: Brazil, Ministério de Educação e Cultura, *Sinopse estatística do ensino médio—1961*. passim.
Brazil, Conselho Nacional de Estatística, *Anuário estatístico do Brasil—1964*. p. 341.
Brazil, Conselho Nacional de Estatística, *Brasil em números* (1963) pp. 129–132.

TABLE 9.—*Middle-level grades enrollment and completion as a percent of first-grade enrollment: 1958-61*

Year	Percent enrolled in grade—							Percent completed middle level
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
1958	100.0	74.9	53.8	41.1	28.6	25.3	19.6	17.2
1959	100.0	75.4	54.3	39.8	35.9	24.8	22.8	17.5
1960	100.0	74.3	54.8	40.5	35.8	25.1	19.2	17.0
1961	100.0	76.0	55.6	41.5	37.1	25.1	19.3	16.4

Source: Adapted from Brazil, *Ministério de Educação e Cultura, Sinopse estatística de ensino médio—1958*, passim. Ibid., 1959, 1960, 1961.

secondary schools. Table 8 shows the percentage of students in the various programs from 1950 through 1961. Consistently, the normal school and general secondary programs, both academically oriented, have accounted for between 81 and 82 percent of middle-level enrollment, thus reflecting the Brazilian preference for this type of learning. During these 12 years the programs of the normal schools have grown at a higher rate than those in other middle-level schools, apparently at the expense of the general secondary schools.

Table 9 shows, as a percentage of first-grade enrollment, the number of students in each of the middle-level grades and the number of students who completed the middle level in the years 1958-61. Consistently, in these years, the number of students successfully completing the program was less than 20 percent of those who entered grade 1. These data do not indicate a true drop-out rate, but it is clear that a large percentage of the students who enter the middle level do not successfully complete their studies.

Rural-Urban Distribution

Middle-level schools were located principally in urban areas in 1961. According to preliminary figures of the 1960 census, 45.3 percent of the Brazilian population was in areas classified as urban by statistical standards. Approximately 80 percent of middle-level students were enrolled in schools located in urban centers of 10,000 population or more, whose total population constituted only 30 percent of the Nation's. In the northern areas 93 percent of middle-level students were in centers representing only 27 percent of the area population. In the southern region more than 66 percent of students were located in urban centers which had little over 33 percent of the area population.[5] It is clear that middle-level education was concentrated in the cities, and that its accessibility by the rural population was quite limited.

Table 10 indicates that more than 77 percent of the middle-level students in 1961 were enrolled in schools located in the States of Minas Gerais, Espirito Santo, and those to the south of these two States. This area contained about 60 percent of the total population. In only four States, Rio de Janeiro, Guanabara, São Paulo, and Rio Grande do Sul, did the proportion of the country's middle-level students surpass the percentage of total national population located in each of these States.

[5] Based on: Brazil, Conselho Nacional de Estatística, *Anuário estatístico do Brasil—1963* pp. 30–31 Brazil, Ministério de Educação e Cultura, *Ensino médio por municípios—1961* passim.

TABLE 10.—*Middle-level school enrollment in relation to total population, by States and territories, and percent of national middle-level enrollment: 1961*

[* indicates Territory]

State or territory*	Number of students per 1,000 of total population in state or territory	Percent of national middle-level enrollment
Brazil (total)	18.4	100.0
North	12.3	2.45
Rondônia*	11.1	0.06
Acre	7.1	0.08
Amazonas	12.1	0.67
Roroaima*	9.8	0.01
Pará	12.8	1.53
Amapá*	14.9	0.07
Northeast	10.3	12.38
Maranhão	4.9	0.93
Piauí	9.4	0.85
Ceará	11.0	2.82
Rio Grande do Norte	10.8	0.96
Paraíba	8.0	1.23
Pernambuco	14.3	4.85
Alagôas	9.8	0.97
East	19.2	36.5
Sergipe	12.1	0.7
Bahia	9.6	4.57
Minas Gerais	16.9	12.6
Espirito Santo	18.7	1.7
Rio de Janeiro	22.0	5.75
Guanabara	43.7	11.06
South	24.1	45.9
São Paulo	29.0	28.8
Paraná	16.7	5.49
Santa Catarina	13.9	2.21
Rio Grande do Sul	22.2	9.33
Central West	13.1	2.72
Mato Grosso	14.2	0.99
Goiás	11.5	1.72
Other programs	28.1	0.31

Source: Adapted from Brazil, Conselho Nacional de Estatística, *Anuário estatístico do Brasil—1963*. p. 28.; Brazil, Ministerio da Educação e Cultura, *Sinopse estatística do ensino médio*—1961. p. 11.

HIGHER EDUCATION

The university is a relatively new institution in Brazil. Establishment of a university, proposed as

early as the 18th century, was supported by the independence movement in Minas Gerais in the latter part of that century. The subject arose for consideration during the imperial period of Brazilian history, but not until the third decade of the present century was the organization of a university in Brazil implemented.

There were schools of higher education, however, before the University of Brazil, the first university, took form in Rio de Janeiro in the 1920's. After the Portuguese royal family arrived in Brazil in 1808, fleeing from the Napoleonic invasion of Portugal, Dom João VI, as regent, ordered the establishment of schools in Brazil which were to be the forerunners of the present military, engineering, and medical institutions in the country. These early schools were intended to meet specific needs for the training of individuals for professions, and each was independent and unrelated to any other in its administrative structure. Subsequently, the schools of higher education followed the same pattern, functioning as independent entities.

Brazil's first university was officially established by combining the existing schools of medicine, law, and engineering as a loosely organized institution. In the following decades other universities were formed, in almost all cases by placing existing independent schools under one administrative structure. However, each school tended to continue to function as a separate entity.

Higher education in Brazil continued to bear this imprint of its origin and method of development. The early independent schools were established for the education of individuals to practice certain professions. These professional objectives still characterize Brazalian university schools, most of which functioned independently before becoming component parts of universities.

Thus, the basic unit of the Brazilian system of higher education in 1961 was the university school, usually designated as a faculty (*faculdade*). The institute (*instituto*) was part of the name of some university schools, but usually designated an institution of research or instruction working under a faculty, or a teaching unit having a special function.

The types of faculties varied according to their field of specialization and were still geared to preparation for a profession. All universities were required to have a faculty of philosophy, and two of the following three; school of law, school of engineering, and school of medicine. The faculty of philosophy was organized for teacher preparation but offered some programs similar to liberal arts studies.

Programs of a faculty were prescribed by the Ministry of Education, and all students in higher institutions followed the same courses of study.

Administration and Financing

Federal, State, and Private.—Brazilian schools of higher education were controlled by the Federal Government. The Ministry of Education and Culture, acting through the Directorate of Higher Education, was responsible for the administration of all higher schools, except those previously described—military schools, those teaching agricultural subjects under the Ministry of Agriculture, and schools for the training of the clergy.

In consultation with the National Council of Education, the Ministry of Education decided on the approval and operation of higher education institutions within its limits of authority, determined curriculums, examination dates, length of the school year, and many other points, which left little autonomy to the individual institution. The Ministry's control was rigid, and its authority, extensive. Through inspectors in each recognized school, the Ministry's decisions were enforced, and operation of the school was reported through designated channels.

Public university-level schools, or faculties, were governed by councils, composed of *catedráticos*[6] of the schools. Directors of the faculty councils were appointed by the President of the Republic, in the case of federally controlled schools, or by the State governors, for State schools, from nominees submitted by the respective councils.

The same procedure of nomination for university rectors was followed by university councils, which were composed of representatives of the faculty council. The rector was the executive head of a university, and its official representative for legal and ceremonial purposes.

The administrative structure of private universities varied according to the institution, but all were under Roman Catholic auspices and were governed according to Canon Law, with one exception. The Presbyterian-related Mackenzie Uni-

[6] There is no exact English translation of the word *catedrático*, nor is there an equivalent position in the U.S. educational systems. For these reasons the Portuguese word is used throughout this study. A fuller explanation of the *catedrático* is presented later in this chapter (see p. 20).

versity was regulated by a board of trustees. However, some private faculties outside a university organization were controlled not by religious groups, but by professors in the school or by administrative bodies similar to boards of trustees.

Finances.—Brazilian higher education absorbed 30 percent of government funds allocated for the Nation's education in 1959, including 51 percent of Federal funds, 13.7 percent of State, and 0.9 percent of municipal funds. Federal schools of higher education, which enrolled 39.4 percent of the students in 1961, received almost all their funds from the Federal agencies, and State and private schools also received Federal grants for current expenses and construction purposes.[7] Thus, the Federal financial participation in the field of higher education accounted for a significant percentage of the total costs. Private schools enrolled 42.9 percent of the higher students, and also received some Government funds, but charged tuition to meet budgetary demands. Public institutions charged no tuition. Few schools had any resources which would even resemble the endowment funds of a college or university in the United States.

The Teaching System

No formal provisions existed for the preparation of teachers for the Brazilian higher level of education. They were chosen from graduates of a university school who had specialized in the field of the faculty where they sought to teach. Through self-study and experience, the teacher achieved mastery of his subject.

The highest level of university teaching was that of the *catedrático,* who may be considered as a full professor in charge of a discipline and a key figure in the organization of a faculty.

The *catedrático* was selected through difficult competitive examinations, which involved the evaluation of his education, qualifications and experience, the defense of a thesis, oral and written examinations in the subject matter of his field, and a demonstration of teaching ability in a classroom situation. Each faculty of a university conducted the examination as vacancies occurred, and awarded the position of *catedrático* to the candidate who achieved first place in the competition.

After his installation, the *catedrático,* whether in public or private schools, enjoyed life tenure, and his rights in this sense were protected by provisions of the Constitution of 1946.[8] The *catedrático* appointed other teachers in his subject field and controlled its teaching. Theoretically, he was to have freedom for research and study; however, at times the *catedrático* held several chairs, some in different cities, which consumed a good portion of his time. Often, because of his inadequate salary the *catedrático,* like most other university teachers, undertook other professional activities in his field.

The *catedrático* was one point of controversy during the struggle which preceded the passing of the 1961 Law of Directives and Bases. The position was defended by most university professors and administrators, who looked upon it as the foundation of academic freedom and intellectual development. Some liberal groups attacked the time-honored status of the *catedrático* as archaic and, as an obstacle to the reorganization of the university and to efficient instruction. There was no doubt that the system had its advantages, disadpantages, and abuses. The individuals who held the position of *catedrático* were not eager to surrender their privileges, which would be lost if the university were reorganized. Typically, the opponents to the *catedrático* described the position as a type of educational *latifundia.*

Another objection to the system revolved around the duplication of subjects within the same university. Each faculty included a *catedrático* for every subject of its curriculum, which might be duplicated in another faculty. For example, the same introductory chemistry subject matter would be offered in a faculty of medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, philosophy, and engineering, each faculty having a *catedrático* and his assistant to teach the subject. In most such cases, it would have been possible to economize on manpower, since the total number of students could have been efficiently handled by a staff much smaller than that required for the five faculties. Naturally, each *catedrático,* having worked hard to achieve his position, would not readily abandon his chair in a reorganization. Therefore, the *catedráticos* were accused of being vested interests, opposing more efficient reorganization of the university.

The Faculty of Philosophy

In the Brazilian system of higher education, the faculty of philosophy, in the broad scope of its

[7] Brazil, Ministério da Educação e Cultura, *Educação e desenvolvimento econômico 1962.* p. 41.

[8] Some middle-level schools had *catedráticos,* but only in public institutions were they guaranteed tenure by the Constitution.

curriculum, was the school which most resembled the liberal arts college in the United States. Beginning in the early thirties, this faculty steadily increased in popularity, and in 1961 enrolled 22.6 percent of the total higher education students, only slightly less than the percentage for the faculty of law (table 11). In 1961, there were 77 faculties of philosophy in Brazil.

A major objective of the faculty of philosophy was to train teachers for middle-level schools, providing 3 years of basic study in the major subject matter, leading to the degree of *bacharel.* An additional year of specialization in education, known as the *didática,* led to the *licenciado,* and the right to teach in a middle-level school, but this fourth year was not considered as postgraduate. In some faculties of philosophy, the student received the *bacharel* or the *licenciado* at the end of the 4-year program, depending upon the type of course which he followed.

TABLE 11.—*Number and percent of total higher education enrollment, by level and programs of study: 1961*

Programs of study	Total higher education enrollment	Percent of total enrollment
Undergraduate	98,892	97.5
Postgraduate	2,689	2.5
Total	101,581	100.0
Undergraduate		
Law	23,519	23.8
Philosophy, sciences and letters	22,330	22.6
Engineering	11,423	11.6
Medicine	10,365	10.5
Economic sciences (and related programs)	8,998	9.1
Dentistry	5,572	5.6
Arts	3,353	3.4
Pharmacy	2,427	2.4
Agriculture	2,165	2.2
Architecture	1,646	1.7
Sanitary services	1,608	1.6
Social work	1,578	1.6
Public and private administration	1,073	1.1
Veterinary medicine	833	0.8
Other programs	2,002	2.0

Source: Adapted from Brazil, Ministério de Educação e Cultura, *Sinopse estatística do ensino superior—1961.* pp. 5–13.

Study Programs and Diplomas

Brazilian higher education in 1961 comprised the undergraduate (*graduação*) and the postgraduate (*pós-graduação*) levels, both largely professional, which prepared the student for his chosen profession. The undergraduate programs, in 23 general classifications, provided for more than 60 areas of study. For postgraduate studies there were 13 general classifications and 25 areas.

Upon completion of his undergraduate program of 3 to 6 years, the student received a diploma conferring a title or a degree. The title was usually that of the student's profession, such as (*médico*) physician, (*engenheiro*) engineer, or the degree, the *bacharel* or *licenciado.*

Regardless of the degree or title obtained, a university graduate in Brazil was commonly called (*doutor*), doctor. If he taught at any level, the title "professor" was gratuitously conferred upon him by the public. The doctor's degree, *doctorado,* was awarded after the student had completed his undergraduate work, practiced his profession, and returned to his faculty to present and defend a thesis, and complete certain examinations in his major subject area. In some faculties the *doctorado* was awarded to individuals who had been approved in the competitive examination for the chair of *catedrático.*

Graduate studies in Brazilian universities were not the same as the corresponding level of work in universities in the United States. The Brazilian doctorate involved almost no directed study, and most of the graduate programs were referred to as courses of specialization (*especialização*) or development (*aperfeiciomento*), and, like the undergraduate programs, were largely directed toward professional training.

Admission and Enrollments

Students seeking admission to a school of higher education were required to present a certificate of completion of middle-level study. Before 1953 only the general secondary certificate was accepted for admission to all higher schools, but in that year, a government decree permitted graduates of other middle-level schools to take the adaptation examination for admission to a faculty whose specialty was not related to their middle-level preparation.

The entrance examinations, both oral and written, were given by the school of higher education, with the Federal inspector assigned to the school sharing a supervisory function. The examinations were usually highly competitive, since more students were seeking admission than there were

places available. Examinations were based on subject matter considered as necessary for higher studies, and usually required additional preparation for university entrance, frequently through unofficial and unregulated "cram" courses. Some students attempted the examinations several times before gaining admission to faculties where competition was high, and others were never successful.

Transfer from one higher school to another was legally possible, provided the receiving faculty would accept the student. Transfer of a student from one type of faculty to another was not permitted. Students from foreign schools were subject to adaptation examinations before admission to Brazilian schools of higher education.

In 1961, there were 216 independent schools and 29 universities in Brazil, having 235 faculties. Of the total enrollment of 101,581 students in all higher schools, 98,892 were undergraduates (table 11). Almost 75 percent of the 2,689 postgraduate students were in faculties functioning as part of the universities.

By classification of authority, students in higher education were distributed as follows:

Authority	Number	Percent of enrollment
Federal	39,944	39.4
State	16,037	15.7
Municipal	2,040	1.9
Private	43,560	42.9

Almost half of the undergraduates in 1961 and approximately the same proportion of postgraduate students were in faculties of philosophy and law. Of the remaining students, 31.2 percent of undergraduates and 20.3 percent of postgraduates were enrolled in engineering, medicine, and economic science faculties. The three traditional university schools, medicine, engineering and law, still enrolled 45.9 percent of all undergraduates, and 30.5 percent of the postgraduate students.[9] As for the regional distribution of enrollments in higher education schools (table 12), more than 80 percent were in institutions located in the southern part of Brazil, from Minas Gerais and Espirito Santo to the south.[10]

Except for a few agricultural schools, almost all Brazilian institutions of higher education were located in urban centers. About 54 percent of the students at that level were enrolled in the 14 universities located in the seven cities having a population of more than 500,000.[11] If the enrollment of independent faculties in these cities is included, the seven urban centers accounted for 60 percent or more of the Nation's higher education enrollment in 1961.[12] Two of the cities, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, had almost 32 percent of the students enrolled in university-related faculties.

Of all university students in 1961, 70.6 percent were men. Women tended to be in the majority in the faculties of philosophy, except for mathematics and natural sciences. Engineering, agriculture, and economic sciences had more than 90 percent men students; women students, on the other hand, constituted from 10 to 25 percent of the enrollment in faculties of law, medicine, and dentistry, and more than a third in schools of pharmacy. More than 43 percent of the postgraduate students were women.[13]

Enrollment in all higher education courses increased by 88 percent, from 49,700 to 93,200 in the 1950-60 decade. The enrollment per thousand of the general population was 0.95 in 1950 and 1.31 in 1960.[14] By the beginning of the 1961 school year, total enrollment had reached 101,581. The rate of increase in Brazil's higher education enrollment was significantly higher than the growth of the general population. The percent increase over 1950 in major fields of study (each of which in 1960 included at least 5 percent of the total higher education enrollment) was as follows:[15]

Fields of Study	Percent increase from 1950 to 1960
All courses	88.0
Law	104.0
Philosophy, sciences, and letters	219.0
Engineering	52.0
Medicine	16.0
Economic sciences and related programs	170.0
Dentistry	70.0

[9] Brazil, Ministerio de Educação e Cultura. *Sinopse estatístico do ensino superior—1961. passim.*

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid., p. 30–31.

[12] Ibid., *passim.*

[13] Ibid.

[14] *Educação e desenvolvimento econômico.* p. 44.

[15] *Anuario estatístico do Brasil—1963:* and *Sinopse estatístico do Ensino superior*—1961. p. 13.

Chapter 3

General Characteristics of Education: 1961

THE ACADEMIC APPROACH

A prominent characteristic of Brazilian education in the period discussed was its academic approach, frequently described as *livresco,* meaning "bookish," because of the emphasis placed on memorizing and recitation of facts. Curriculums were encyclopedic, including as many as 11 subjects in some programs at the middle level. Education in general placed considerable value on the development of verbal talents, a feature which one author considered to be a national characteristic:

> This is one aspect which is profoundly expressive of the verbalistic configuration of Brazilian culture, in which the word loses its instrumental character as a conveyor of ideas and has value because of its esthetic beauty, its rhythm, and its ornamental structure.[1]

The academic approach to education may also be attributed to other causes. This type of education, for one thing, led to positions in Brazilian society which commanded the highest prestige. Even in 1961 the educational system of Brazil still retained some features which existed only for an elite upper class, and advancement in the academic field was one means of upward vertical social mobility.

The traditional schools of higher education in Brazil were law, medicine, and engineering, with military schools also training individuals for leadership roles. Higher education programs were based on completion of the general secondary course, academic in nature, and supposedly providing the general education necessary for specialization.

Furthermore, the strict academic type of education was the least expensive to organize and maintain, requiring a minimum of laboratories and equipment necessary for programs of vocational education or those concentrating on the natural sciences. More teachers have been avaliable for the academic method of instruction, and until recent decades, were ascribed greater prestige in general society.

In short, academic education in the pre-1961 period was what Brazilians thought education *should* be, and it produced the results which the general public expected. While there was considerable discussion, before implementation of the 1961 law, about the necessity for other approaches to education, the elementary level remained definitely academic. The general secondary school enrolled the majority of the middle-level students. The teachers' normal programs and the commercial programs, both influenced by the academic approach, accounted for almost all the other middle-level students. On the higher level, faculties of law and philosophy alone enrolled almost half of the Brazilian university-level students.

RESTRICTION OF OPPORTUNITY

The student who passed through the Brazilian system of education was subject to a process of selection at every stage. By no means was admission to the middle-level or to higher education assured by the successful completion of the preceding stage of study. As in other parts of the world, end-of-year examinations were of great importance in determining who would be admitted to the next level of study. Each level, however, required admission examinations necessitating preparation not provided in the student's previous prescribed program. Such preparation was usually offered in a summer course or a fifth year of elementary school for students entering the middle level, and in a period of several months to several years of study for candidates seeking admission to schools of higher education.

This does not mean that no attempt was made at each level of education to provide the prepara-

[1] Jayme Abreu, "Ensino médio brasileiro; tendências de sua expansão." *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos.* Vol. XXXIX, No. 89, (janeiro-março, 1963). p. 32. (translated)

tion necessary for the student's admission to the next higher level. On the contrary, the general understanding was that the principal purpose of the elementary school was to prepare the students for the middle-level, which in turn should point toward university entrance. The levels of Brazilian education, however, functioned with little coordination, and with notable isolation from each other. In general, the student was aware of this selective process, and especially when seeking admission to schools of higher education was conscious of the competition for the limited number of places available.

There were other factors, extraneous to the educational system, in the selective process. One was the economic situation of his family which determined whether a student would have to leave school and help support the family or himself. Some students were able to work full time and study at night, but such endeavor required strong motivation and persistence. In any case the economic situation of the family had to allow the student more than the bare necessities of life, especially at the middle level of schooling, where usually tuition and school supplies were not free.

Another selective factor was the value system of the student and his family. A family which did not place education high on its value scale was not likely to expend much effort to educate its children, and an individual who did not see value in education was unlikely to overcome obstacles.

In a nation where all children did not have an opportunity for even the beginning of a formal education, the selective factors, both internal and external to the educational system, reduced the degree of participation of those children who did enter school.

In 1961, more than 82 percent of the school population at all levels was concentrated in the elementary schools; the middle level enrolled only 16.2 percent, and schools of higher education, about 1.2 percent.[2] Of the total school enrollment in that year more than 60 percent at all levels was in the first 2 years of the elementary school, and in some States, more than 80 percent.[3]

The selective process within the Brazilian educational system and in society generally resulted in the loss of trained manpower for the Nation, and in the restriction of individual development of the students who did not remain in school. In describing a system as being selective, some educators may intend to demonstrate that it maintains high standards; however, the selective aspect may well result in reduced output rather than in superior quality.

TEACHING STAFFS

The different levels of education presented different problems affecting teachers. In only six States were a majority of elementary-level teachers graduates of the middle-level normal schools. The majority of teachers in most of the States lacked even this standard of instruction. On the middle level, besides lacking the necessary preparation, teachers frequently held other jobs or taught in several schools, which thus divided their interest. Teacher preparation for the higher level was unstructured, although the methods for choosing professors who would occupy an academic chair in a faculty were well defined. Most university-level teachers had completed the regular course of instruction in an institution of higher education and achieved further preparation through self-study and experience. Part-time teaching was also a problem at the level of higher education.

GOVERNMENT CONTROL AND CENTRALIZATION

The educational system of Brazil was tied directly to the Government which, through its various agencies, controlled the norms, goals, and directions of the schools to a greater or lesser degree, and regulated their operation. Following guidelines of the Federal Government, elementary education was largely under the administration of the States, as were the middle-level normal schools for teacher training. All other middle-level schools and institutions of higher education were responsible to an agency of the Federal Government as determined by the type of instruction offered.

One of the results of Government control was the development of an official concept of education. To be recognized by the general public, education had to be obtained in schools which were officially recognized and inspected by the Government agency responsible for the particular type of instruction. This concept of "official education" was supported by the requirement that certain Government jobs be filled by persons who held diplo-

[2] Brazil, Conselho Nacional de Estatística, *Anuário estatístico do Brasil—1961*. pp. 368–380.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 361.

mas from "official schools." The diplomas from such schools, to all intents and purposes, served as the license to practice given professions. Diplomas from unofficial schools were worthless for this purpose unless the applicant for a license passed rigid revalidation examination. This concept of official education in some respects could be compared to the concept of accreditation in the United States.

Another result of Government control was the centralization of education. When Federal agencies controlled the level or type of education, the centralization of basic education policy was on a nationwide basis, although the agencies may have had regional offices. The schools under jurisdiction of the States were no less centralized, the difference being that the local school authorities looked to the State capital instead of the Federal capital for direction.

Accompanying Government control and centralization was the high degree of uniformity and standardization in schools. Regardless of regional location, rural or urban setting, schools in all parts of the Nation under Federal control had identical school years and curriculums. Schools under State administration followed minute regulations of the Secretariat of Education of their States.

PRIVATE PARTICIPATION

Government control extended to all privately operated schools as well as institutions owned and operated by public agencies. Thus, the concept of official education applied to private schools as well as public schools and allowed the private schools to function under Government control on equal footing with the public schools.

The activity of the private sector in Brazilian education was notable in 1961. Almost half of the higher education students, around 65 percent of the middle-level students, and about 12 percent of the elementary school students were enrolled in private schools. Some private schools received part of their support from Governmental agencies, and most charged tuition. Profit-motivated schools were common on the elementary and middle levels, but rare on the higher level. Without the contribution of the private schools, educational opportunities would have been even more restricted.

URBAN PREDOMINANCE

Brazilian education was largely an urban movement. Educational opportunities were definitely limited for the rural population. Although a majority of the population was located in areas classified as rural, more than half the elementary school students were enrolled in schools classified as urban. Qualitatively, the rural schools were considerably inferior to the urban schools. In most of the states, more than 70 percent of middle-level students were enrolled in schools located in municipalities having urban centers of more than 10,000. Except for a few schools of agriculture, higher education was confined to the urban centers.

PART III

The 1961 Law of Directives and Bases

Chapter 4

Enactment and Provisions of the Law

GUIDELINES OF THE CONSTITUTION OF 1946

Article 168 of the Brazilian Constitution of 1946 set forth certain guidelines as a basis for future legislation on education. These constitutional guidelines were, in effect, the principles which would become requirements of the anticipated legislation:

> Free, compulsory public elementary education, with instruction in the Portuguese language
>
> Access to other levels of education without charge to those unable to pay the necessary fees
>
> Free elementary education provided by industrial, commercial, and agricultural enterprises, employing more than 100 persons, for children of their employees, and free apprentice training for minor employees
>
> Optional religious instruction as a part of regular study programs
>
> Teacher tenure (*catedrático*) rights and competitive examinations for positions in public secondary and public or free higher education institutions.

Lifetime tenure is not sustained by the 1966 Constitution; however, professors who already held the right when the new charter was decreed were not affected.

ENACTMENT OF THE LAW OF 1961

In October 1948 the Brazilian Congress received the first bill on implementation of the 1946 constitutional guidelines on education, under the sponsorship of the then Minister of Education and Health, Clemente Mariani. This bill, entitled "The Law of Directives and Bases of National Education" (*Lei de Diretizes e Bases de Educação Nacional*) remained under the consideration of the Commission on Laws of the Chamber of Deputies for some years, arising from time to time for attention in the press, but failing to come up for debate in the Congress.

Not until 1959 was a substitute measure presented for the 1948 bill. The proposal, which included a freer role for the private school in Brazilian education and Government aid, immediately became a point of controversy, and thus focused greater attention of Congress on the still pending bill. Supporters of public schools, expressing varying degrees of opinion, felt their position threatened.

Proponents of public schools defended their stand as that of a democratic society, on the ground that only an educational system which was publicly owned, supported, and directed could be truly democratic. Their theme was "public money for public schools." Arguments ranged from mere advocacy of the primacy of the public school to proposals which would prohibit any private participation in the educational processes of the nation. Public school supporters generally included individuals and groups of more liberal political inclinations who accepted greater State participation in other activities.

Advocates of private schools claimed to be combatting "statism" and defending the freedom to educate their children as they thought best. These proponents were generally more conservative, and included religious groups which operated private schools. Points of view ranged from the argument that private education should be partly financed by the Government to the position that all education should be private and that the State (or States) should grant funds for the operation of schools without participating in their supervision.

In general, the objectives of the two opposing groups represented simply the question of *centralized* versus *decentralized* control of Brazilian education. This has been an unsettled issue in Brazilian education since the time of the country's independence. The Constitution of 1824, which provided for a centralized form of Government, included the provision for free elementary schools. The central Government was not implementing this requirement, however, when the Additional

Act of 1834 gave administrative authority for elementary and middle-level schools to the assemblies of the provinces (now States), which decentralized education on these two levels.

This situation continued through the imperial period of Brazilian history and was further confirmed in 1891 by the first republican Constitution, which was definitely decentralizing in its approach, but made no reference to education directly. The interpretation was that the central government could administer schools at the higher and middle levels, and the State Governments at all levels; thus a dual system of administration was created.

Up to 1930 the Federal Government was not active in the field of elementary education but to some extent centralized its control of middle-level education by making the *Colégio Dom Pedro II* in Rio de Janeiro into a model middle-level school for the country and using its curriculum as a standard. In 1930 the Vargas regimė began to centralize the administration of education in the newly created Ministry of Education, but still delegated to the States some authority over the elementary schools. By 1946, its control of education was highly centralized, but the Constitution of 1946 provided for decentralized administration, an approach which is expressed in the 1961 Law of Directives and Bases.

The opponents of decentralized control feared that it would allow local politicians to gain control over the public schools and weaken any control over the private schools. In the elimination of centralization and uniformity, the threat of abused freedom was clear to those who advocated that all schools follow the same organization and study plans.

The supporters of decentralization cited the vastness of the Brazilian territory, and the diversity of social and economic conditions as evidence for the necessity of ending centralized control of education and terminating the uniform programs of study and school organization. State and local control and flexibility in the educational processes were seen as necessities.

Both groups made vigorous effort to arouse public opinion in support of their position. Wide discussion in newspapers during the period further testified to the importance of the proposed legislation. Clearly, the final solution was to be a compromise on the question of school control.

After further debate, consideration and revision, the Law of Directives and Bases of National Education was passed by the Brazilian Congress on December 20, 1961, and sent to the executive branch, which vetoed 26 points of the provisions. Some of the vetoes were sustained and others were overriden in the Congress.

PROVISIONS OF THE LAW

Goals for Education

The law begins with a general definition of the goals of education, and reaffirms:

> The constitutional statement that education should be inspired by the principles of freedom and human solidarity
>
> The right of all citizens to an education, in the home and in the school
>
> The obligation of the Government to assume this right through provision for public schools and the necessary resources for the family for education of the children
>
> Freedom of communicating knowledge and beliefs opportunities of both public and legally authorized private schools for representation on the councils of education.

Role of the Federal Government

The law provides for the formation of two types of educational systems, Federal and State, stressing that the States and the Federal District shall organize their systems of education and observe the constitutional guidelines and the provision of the law. The educational systems are to consider the flexibility of curriculums and the different types and levels of education.

The Federal Government has responsibility for public education in the territories.

Theoretically, the role of the Federal Government is to supplement and support the State systems and to supplement education in the entire nation, within the strict limits of local existing deficiencies, rather than to control and direct it. Under the law, the Federal system has the responsibility for:

> Education in the territories according to the local needs.
>
> Jurisdiction over all federally owned, nonmilitary schools of higher education, private schools, both elementary and middle-level, in the territories, and those owned by the Federal Government in any part of the nation (except military schools). Private middle-level schools which were in operation in 1961 have the option of choosing between the jurisdiction of a State or the Federal system of education, this right of decision to be in effect for 5 years from the passage of the law.

The Ministry of Education and Culture continues as—

> *the administrative agency* for Federal action in education, carrying out through its various directorates the activities assigned by the law, and executing decisions of the Federal Council of Education as stipulated by the law;

The Federal Council of Education—

> *is composed of 24 members* appointed by the President of the Republic for a 6-year term, and selected on the basis of their recognized knowledge or experience in educational matters, considering the various levels of education, and the diverse regions of the nation; the 6-year terms are to be adjusted at the time of organization of the council so that one-third of the members will retire every 2 years; two-thirds of the council remains and serves as a balance in the change of membership;
>
> *is divided into chambers* to deal separately with questions concerning elementary, middle-level, and higher education; plenary sessions will deal with questions of a general nature; membership in the council has priority over all other public offices which the member may hold;
>
> *has general power* to investigate, through special commissions, any educational institution to determine its compliance with the law; to adopt or propose changes and measures for the expansion and improvement of education and consider extension of social assistance; render opinions on questions of educational nature submitted by the President of the Republic or by the Minister of Education;
>
> *proposes measures* for the organization and functioning of a federal system of education; indicates the required subjects of the middle and higher-level programs, and sets qualifications for elementary school teachers in the Federal system; has advisory capacity on the incorporation of schools into the Federal system after the financial condition of the institutions has been verified;
>
> *makes decisions* on the functions of independent faculties, both Federal and private, after they have been in operation for 2 years; authorizes establishment of a university and its functioning by approving its charter; and determines minimum curriculum requirements of institutions of higher learning whose diplomas confer the right to practice a liberal profession or to hold certain public offices; but these decisions are made by the States in the case of State universities which have been in operation for 5 years or longer;
>
> *receives and considers reports* from all university-level schools and may suspend the autonomy of a university;
>
> *makes plans* for the use of Federal resources which are appropriated for the different levels of education, the national fund for elementary education, the national fund for middle-level education, and the national fund for higher education; determines the overall amount from Federal funds to be used for scholarships at the various educational levels in the States, the Federal District, and the territories;
>
> *maintains relations* with the State councils; and promotes and circulates studies on the State systems.

The actions of the council in reference to higher education, the question of incorporation of schools into the Federal system, the establishment of qualifications for teachers within the Federal system, the authority to determine minimum curriculum and required subjects, and the organization of the council's rules of order, are all subject to the approval of the Minister of Education.

State Participation

The Law of Directives and Bases authorizes State legislation which will determine the administration and structure of the State systems of education in accordance with Federal requirements. The systems of education of the States and of the Federal District are to include all non-federal elementary schools, State and municipal public middle-level schools; private schools in existence before 1961 which chose to become part of the State system of education; and all State-owned schools of higher education in States where universitives have been in operation for more than 5 years.

The State systems of education are specifically empowered to place limits on the employment of elementary school teachers who are graduates only of the first cycle of the normal school; and to set the qualifications for all elementary school teachers within the system, making no distinction between the graduates of public and private normal schools within the State systems. It is the duty of the States to decide on questions of adaptation arising from the transfer of students from one middle-level school to another. States which have maintained a university in operation for more than 5 years may decide on the recognition of State-operated schools of higher education in the States. This responsibility is exercised by the State council of education according to its authority.

A State council of education in each State is to be structured according to State laws and composed of individuals of known standing in the field of education, including representatives of the various levels of instruction, private and public, as well as teachers and administrators. State legislation is to define the powers of the council, observing the requirements of the Law of Directives and Bases which specifically assign certain duties to

this body. The State council, as regulated by State laws, is to

> *organize qualifying examinations* for elementary school teachers who are not graduates of normal schools
>
> *support local authorities* in the enforcement of the provision for firms employing more than 100 persons to provide elementary education for the children of their personnel
>
> *set standards* for the recognition and functioning of elementary and middle-level schools under its jurisdiction, and advise the Ministry of the recognition of middle-level schools, and for the organization of experimental courses on both levels
>
> *complete the number of optional subjects* for the curriculum of middle-level schools within the State system, permitting each institution to choose its electives; technical courses not otherwise regulated by law are subject to authority of the State government
>
> *authorize and inspect* the schools of higher education which are owned by the State, but are not components of a university, and act in cases of appeal coming from these schools
>
> *decide questions* involving the transfer of students from one State institution to another
>
> *approve modifications* in the constitutions and bylaws of schools under its jurisdiction
>
> *approve the transfer* of an institution of higher education from one sponsoring body to another if the institution has received State funds
>
> *provide special support* to private and public activities in the field of education of exceptional persons.

The State councils of education are to plan for the use of funds referred to in Article 169 [1] of the Brazilian Constitution, requiring that 10 percent of Federal tax receipts and 20 percent of State, Federal District, and municipal tax revenues be used for education. Such funds are intended to provide access to education for the largest number of persons possible, preferably in public schools. The State councils are to organize the mechanism through which both Federal and State funds are to be used for scholarships, allowing aid to elementary level students to study in private schools only when there are no vacancies in the public schools. The State councils are required to study the costs of education within States and to publish statistics, with the objective of improving the educational processes.

Private Schools

Legally authorized private schools are assured participation in the Brazilian educational system by the Law of Directives and Bases.

[1] The 1966 Constitution does not include this provision.

Private elementary schools are under the system having jurisdiction over their locality. Private middle-level schools in existence in 1961 had until December 1966 to choose between the Federal or State system. Private schools of higher education are under the jurisdiction of the Federal authorities. No distinction is permitted concerning the validity of the studies in officially recognized public schools and in private schools. Diplomas and certificates from both are judged to be of equal value and are subject to the same regulations and registry.

Private schools may receive subsidies and grants for designated purposes from Government sources. However, they are required to grant tuition or discounts up to the value of the funds received. Private schools may also accept students holding Government scholarships, and may receive Government loans. Private institutions of higher education which receive public funds may not be transferred to other ownership without approval of the competent authority.

Educational Foundations

As a means of maintaining educational institutions on all levels, both private and public, the 1961 legislation recommends the establishment of nonprofit foundations and associations. Schools sponsored by such organizations may receive financial support from the Government and are allowed to charge tuition on the middle and higher level. If tuition is charged, the fees are subject to Government approval. If the foundations which have received Government funds cease to exist, all buildings, equipment, and other resources become Government property. This system is especially recommended for schools of higher education. It should be noted that this is not a required structure of ownership, and that the Law of Directives and Bases orders that a special law regulate such foundations. Employes of a foundation are subject to the normal labor legislation, as are the other private schools.

Financing Education

The 1961 Law increases the percentage of Federal tax revenues to be used for education to 12 percent, from the minimum of 10 percent, as stipulated in the Constitution of 1946. The requirement that 20 percent of State and municipal tax revenues be used for educational purposes continues, and the States and municipalities are prohibited from requesting Federal aid for education

when they have not fulfilled this constitutional requirement.

Ninety percent of the Federal funds for education are to be divided equally into three funds for the three levels of education. According to the plans of the Federal Council of Education and the State Councils of Education, the objectives are to provide better schooling for greater numbers of students, to improve the quality of teaching, tc develop technical scientific education, and to promote the sciences, letters, and arts. More specifically, the funds are used for maintenance and expansion of scholarship benefits, teacher development, and administration, but not for auxiliary social and cultural assistance.

Part of the Federal funds is designated for scholarships and 15-year low interest loans to students of recognized ability and need for study in officially recognized institutions. The overall amount of Federal funds for scholarships is determined by the Federal Council of Education; the State councils of education determine the allocation per student and the requirements for the awarding of the scholarships.

Federal funds are to be distributed to private and public educational institutions in the forms of subsidies, technical assistance, grants, and loans for the purchase, construction, and repair of building and equipment. To receive this aid, the school must be officially recognized as morally and technically responsible, have an acceptable accounting system, and offer proof that the repayment of loans will not prejudice the effective operation of the school.

The law reiterates the constitutional requirement that commercial, agricultural, and industrial enterprises employing more than 100 persons provide elementary education for the children of their employees as a method of financing education. An additional recommendation is that rural property owners cooperate with public authorities to provide elementary education for the children whose parents reside on their land.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

The Law of 1961 provides only general guidelines for elementary education. This level includes pre-primary schooling which is limited to children 7 years of age or under and is provided in nursery schools or kindergartens. Companies which employ mothers of children of this age are urged to provide facilities for the children in cooperation with public authorities.

The stated purpose of elementary education is to develop the reasoning powers of the child and to foster self-expression and integration into his environment. Instruction in the national language of Brazil is required from the age of 7. Elementary schools are to provide at least 4 years of instruction, with 2 additional years in schools where applied arts are taught. To facilitate enrollment and attendance, the law provides for annual registration of school-age children, each municipality directing its census of children who have reached the age of 7. Parents who do not enroll their children in school or do not provide adequate instruction in the home cannot be employed by the Government or autonomous Government agencies, unless they present proof of sufficient justification, as stated in the law.

MIDDLE-LEVEL EDUCATION

Administration and Structure

The 1961 Law provides basic guidelines for middle-level education, but leaves supervision of schools to the competent authorities of the system under which they operate, Federal or State. All middle-level schools are to organize charters and regulations to govern their internal operation, subject to approval by the council having jurisdiction.

Directors of middle-level schools are required to be qualified educators, and teachers must meet the qualifications necessary for registration with the Ministry of Education and Culture. Teachers for public schools are to be chosen through competitive examinations.

Under the 1961 Law, middle-level education is divided into the broad categories of general secondary, normal, and technical, the last including agricultural, industrial, and commercial study programs. Each category is divided into two cycles: the first, *ginasial,* and the second, *colegial.* The general pattern is 4 years for the first cycle and 3 for the second, but there are possible variations in the normal school program, where each cycle may be longer. Industrial programs may provide a year of academic study between the two cycles.

Admission

The middle-level school is open to students who reach the age of 11 before or during the school

year, and requires an entrance examination as proof of the student's adequate elementary preparation. Students who have completed the sixth year of elementary school may take an examination in the subjects offered in the first year of the first cycle of the middle-level program and, if successful, may enter the second year of that cycle. Admission to the second level requires completion of the first cycle. Through adaptation examinations the student may transfer from one middle-level program to another, from one school to another, from one system to another, and from foreign to Brazilian schools. These examinations are administered under the system of education having jurisdiction over the school the student desires to enter.

Curriculums

The law permits some variation in the curriculum of middle-level schools. The minimum requirements call for 180 days of classes, of 24 hours a week.

The 1961 Law stipulates that the Federal Council of Education shall select five required subjects for each middle-level program and state the number required years of study for each. The State councils, or the Federal Council of Education for the Federal system, select two other required subjects, designate the length of study for each, and permit the school to choose one or two electives to complete the curriculum. The first 2 years of all first-cycle programs include the same required subjects. Provisions are made for duly authorized experimental programs on the middle level.

Students who are 16 years or older may take examinations covering the first cycle of studies without attending class, and if successful, may receive the certification of conclusion of the program. Students in the second cycle, 19 years of age or older, may follow the same procedure. The examinations must be taken over a period of not less than 2 nor more than 3 years.

Each school is free to organize its own grading system within certain limits and to issue certificates of promotion and completion of courses. Grades are based on the work of the school year and on general activities, the teacher having the liberty of formulating questions of the examination. To be eligible to take the final examination, the student must have attended at least 75 percent of the classes during the school year. Students in public schools who fail one grade more than once may not matriculate in the school again.

General Secondary Program

As outlined in the general provisions for middle-level education, the general secondary program is divided into two cycles, the first (*ginasial*) having 4 years, and the second (*colegial*) 3 years. In the organization of its curriculum, the individual school may choose the elective courses to be offered in both cycles, including one vocational subject. A maximum of nine different subjects may be offered in the first cycle with no more than seven in any one year. The first 2 years of the second cycle offer eight subjects, besides practical work; and the third year, which may have not fewer than four, nor more than six subjects, is organized to prepare the student for university-level courses.

Technical Programs

Middle-level technical education specifically covers three types of study: agricultural, commercial, and industrial. The usual middle-level, two-cycle program is followed, but industrial schools may include apprentice and crafts training, which may also be offered in separate schools, independent of the middle-level programs. The industrial and commercial apprenticeship programs require 3 years, and when he has finished, the student may matriculate in a technical *ginásio* in the second year. Industrial and commercial establishments are to provide apprentice training for their minor employees, according to regulations of the different systems of education.

Special curriculum requirements for the technical programs include four general secondary subjects in the last 2 years of the first cycle, besides the regular technical subjects, and five general secondary subjects offered in the second cycle. However, a school may offer a year of pre-technical studies between the two cycles, covering the five general secondary subjects, which leaves the entire second cycle for technical subjects. Diplomas granted by technical schools must be registered with the Ministry of Education and Culture to have national validity.

Normal Schools

The object of the normal school at the middle-level is to prepare teachers and other staff members for the elementary schools. The first cycle of at least 4 years leads to the diploma of *regente,* and

the second cycle of at least 3 years, to the diploma of professor, which qualifies the holder as an elementary teacher. No distinction may be made between the graduates of private or public schools. Institutes of education may be connected with the normal schools, offering training in administration, guidance and professional education subjects for graduates of the second cycle or the normal school's program. For the training of teachers for the normal school, programs in education similar to those of the faculties of philosophy may be offered. Rural normal schools are to train teachers for rural schools.

HIGHER EDUCATION

Structure

According to the Law of Directives and Bases, Brazilian higher education is provided in universities, faculties, and institutes of research and specialized training. The universities are composed of faculties and institutes, and the faculties may be independent or a part of a university. Institutes may be attached to either universities or to faculties.

Usually a university is to be composed of five or more faculties, but the Federal Council of Education may waive the requirement for rural and other special purpose schools. A former requirement that each university have a faculty of philosophy was not stipulated by the Law of 1961. Provisions are made for the teaching of the third year of the middle-level second cycle within the university. Also, middle-level technical programs may be offered when the university is able to provide the required teaching and technical facilities.

Administration

Under the law, public universities and independent faculties constitute self-governing entities, or foundations, whereas private institutions may be sponsored by a foundation or a private association. These sponsors are not to directly administer the university or faculty, but are to organize or approve its constitution and bylaws subject to approval by the Federal Council of Education. The sponsoring bodies are also empowered to decide on questions which arise but which are not covered by the constitution and bylaws of the school concerned.

The law grants autonomy of instruction, allowing the school to create, organize, and determine additions to the basic curriculum, and to fix operational procedures for its programs. The autonomy may be suspended for unspecified periods if the institution does not follow the provisions of the law and of its own constitution and bylaws. The council of education, Federal or State, having jurisdiction over the school, acts as a university council for independent public faculties; for nonpublic faculties, the sponsoring organization performs this function.

The law also requires that the student body have representation on university, faculty, and departmental councils; however, the question of the extent of this representation is not determined by legislation, but by the constitution of the individual school.

The chief executive of a university is the rector (*reitor*) and of a faculty, the director (*direitor*). In Federal universities the rector is to be selected from a list of three professors, nominated by the university council, and presented to the President of the Republic for approval. In State schools the nominees are presented to the Governor of the State. In private universities and faculties, the rector may be selected by the competent authority from a list of three candidates; or, his election may be subject to the approval of that authority, depending upon the school's constitution. Directors of Federal institutions of higher education are selected from a list of three *catedráticos,* nominated by the teaching staff of the school.

Levels of Programs

The law provides for programs in institutions of higher education at (1) the undergraduate level (*graduação*), open to students who have completed their middle-level studies and have satisfied other university entrance requirements; (2) the postgraduate level (*pós-graduado*), open to students who have received their undergraduate diplomas; (3) the advanced training level, programs of specialization (*especialização*) which are permitted with varying requirements and organization, according to the regulations of the institution.

The organization of curriculum is the responsibility of the institution itself; however, the Federal Council of Education determines the minimum number of subjects and the duration of the programs.

The individual school may structure programs, select additional subjects, and establish its instruc-

tional program without limitations other than those stated in the Law of Directives and Bases and in the constitution and bylaws of the school. The organization of subject matter for each class is the responsibility of the teachers, subject to the approval of faculty members or other designated authority. Students are permitted to take subjects in faculties outside their own, and their equivalence is decided by the university council. Classes require 180 days for each school year, not including the time necessary for examinations.

Both students and teachers are required to attend classes. Students who do not attend the minimum percentage of classes as stipulated in the school's regulation are denied admission to the final examination. The institution or any interested party may petition the suspension of a teacher who is absent without just cause from 25 percent of his classes, or fails to present 75 percent of the subject matter of the course outline. A recurrence of the infraction constitutes legal abandonment by the teacher of the post, one of the causes for dismissal under labor legislation.

Students in a public institution who twice fail the same year of a program are no longer eligible for registration in that school.

Diplomas granted by officially recognized schools, both private and public, have equal validity throughout the Nation; however, for legal purposes diplomas must be registered with the Ministry of Education and Culture. For registering diplomas which qualify the recipient for practicing a liberal profession, or for public employment, the Ministry may also require examinations and proof of practical experience.

Financing

Schools of higher education are allowed some degree of independence in handling their finances according to their own regulations, but within the bounds of State and Federal laws. The schools are free to organize their budgets; to accept subsidies, donations, and legacies; and to present their accounts for auditing by the responsible group or agency. Subsidies and grants from the Federal authorities are given as a lump sum to the university and designated for specific amounts in the university budget. Students who are unable to pay for their education may study free of charge in public schools as provided in the Federal Constitution.

The Faculty of Philosophy

The faculty of philosophy is the only school of higher education mentioned specifically in the Law of 1961. It is designated as the school for the education of middle-level school teachers. The faculty is also the model for the institutes of education connected with normal schools, which train elementary school administrators and counselors. Each faculty of philosophy is to have a special program of instruction for middle-level counseling, admission to which requires the completion of the full course in philosophy, education, psychology, social science, or physical education. Federal school inspectors may also have orientation sessions in the faculty if they have had the 3 years' experience required for other candidates. No faculty of philosophy, science, and letters may function without at least four programs leading to the *bacharel* diploma, one of which must be the science and letters program.

Chapter 5

Implementation of the Law of 1961

This chapter discusses the existing, and in some cases the proposed, changes and innovations at all levels of public and private education, designed to implement the requirements of the Law of 1961.

THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF EDUCATION

Within a few weeks after the passing of the 1961 Law, the President of Brazil, on February 5, 1962, issued a decree for the establishment of the Federal Council of Education, according to provisions of the law. Its members were appointed, and a week later the group met to effect its formal organization and to initiate its work. Pending the formulation of permanent bylaws, the council presented to the Minister of Education a temporary set of rules which were approved on February 21, 1962.

The permanent bylaws, approved by the Minister on October 7, 1963, provide for a council of 24 members, organized in a chamber for higher education, and in a chamber for elementary and middle-level education. A permanent commission on legislation and standards is composed of seven members, five of whom are from the chamber for higher education, and two from the other chamber. The two chambers and the permanent commission have full-time secretaries. Special commissions may be organized as necessary. Members of either chamber may attend the sessions of the other and take part in the proceedings without the right to vote.

A president and vice president of the council are elected for 2-year terms. The president is responsible for the overall functioning of the council, assisted by his staff and by the General Secretariat, which is responsible for the overall administration. A general secretary, whose qualifications must match those of the members of the council, is nominated by the president of the council and the Minister of Education, and is appointed by the President of the Republic.

The council meets monthly in regular plenary sessions and may be convened more often for special sessions. The various chambers and commissions function between the regular sessions. The duties of the Council are those outlined by the Law of Directives and Bases (see p. 33).

The attitude of the Federal Council of Education toward the law has been most important. The members have demonstrated the intention to implement the law by placing its provisions into operation as soon as possible. The council has accepted the decentralizing features of the law, and sought to shift the responsibility for education from the Federal to the State level. The principles of flexibility and variation within the limits of the law are expressed in many of the opinions and decisions rendered by the group. The council has not impeded the implementation of the law, but to the contrary, has been a willing instrument for its execution.

Whereas the Minister of Education is a political figure who may not serve for a long period, the council continues its functions from one Federal administration to another. It is therefore possible for the council to organize the resources of the Nation for education on broaded-based and far-reaching plans. Professor Celse Kelly, at one time general secretary of the council and later appointed as a member of the group, described the Federal Council of Education as

> . . . a small senate for educational matters without the disturbance of political origins and without partisan struggle, dedicated to high and profitable discussion which may be expected of "persons notable knowledge and experience in education." Surrounded by guarantees of stability, the supreme organ of education has before it a most important responsibility, to be fulfilled with recognized autonomy as if there were a fourth power, an educational power.[1]

[1] Brazil, Ministério de Educação e Cultura, *Documenta: 20*, (novembro, 1963) p. 5. (Translated)

STATE COUNCILS OF EDUCATION

The 1961 Law does not define in detail the re lationship between the Federal Council of Education and the State councils of education. It specifies that the Federal Council is to maintain contact and exchange information with the State councils, but requires no definite method. In no sense is it inferred that the State organizations are inferior to the Federal, since each has the authority to act within its province on questions of education as delegated by the law.

Plans for the application of Federal funds are generally considered by both councils with implications of cooperation in regard to the principle of decentralization, the overall planning function, and the realization of education in a national scope. Since 1963 the Federal Council has organized and promoted annual meetings, at which the representatives of the State councils have discussed common problems and exchanged information on important aspects of education.

The State councils were not constituted as quickly as the Federal Council, but by the end of 1962, 11 States had passed legislation creating the councils, or, as in the case of Rio Grande do Sul, had adapted a previously functioning council to the requirements of the 1961 Law. By the end of 1963, almost all the States had approved the necessary legislation which provided for the councils, and by the end of 1964, the councils existed in all States.

The organizational structure of the State councils varies considerably; some having as few as 6 members and others as many as 27. The councils are not uniform from State to State in method of operation, but are organized with chambers for each level of education, according to the Law of 1961.

The duties of the councils are defined by the State legislation authorizing their creation. These duties vary in their nature and in some States are redefined by a separate law which establishes the State education system. Eventually, all States are expected to have such laws.

One influence on both the functioning and the duties of the councils is their relationship to the State secretariats of education, which formerly had considerable responsibility for education in their respective States. In some States, the State secretary for education may be designated by law as the president of the State council for education, and in others he is a member of the group. Councils may also include certain functionaries of the State secretariat as *ex officio* members.

Often there seems to be little direct connection between the council and the State secretariat. On one hand, the State secretary of education and his entire secretariat may feel that they are subordinate to the council; as the other extreme, the secretariat, through its staff members on the council, may strongly influence or dominate it.

Considerable variation has existed in the reaction of the State councils of education to the implementation of the Law of 1961. With few guidelines furnished by the legislation, some councils have resorted to concepts which they knew and understood and have demonstrated some tendencies toward centralization of the State education system around the State council of education. In effect, some members of the councils have thought that the State agencies should be smaller-scale models of the formerly highly centralized Federal Ministry of Education and Culture. Usually, the president of the State council of education is a key figure, and his initiative, or lack of it, is an important factor. Generally speaking, the State councils have sought to implement the law, and in most cases are readily accepting the accompanying responsibility.

THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE

The Law of Directives and Bases designates the Ministry of Education and Culture as the agency responsible for exercising the Federal function in education (except in military schools). The general duties of the Ministry require that it enforce the Federal educational laws and the decisions of the Federal Council of Education. More specifically, the Ministry continues to act as a registry for all middle-level school teachers, and for middle-level technical diplomas, in order that they may have validity throughout the Nation. To provide legal status and to permit the holder to practice a liberal profession or to hold public office, diplomas from schools of higher education are also registered with the Ministry.

Some decisions of the Federal Council of Education are subject to approval by the Minister of Education, who usually gives his consent to the council's actions. There are allegations, however, that some actions of the council are not properly

implemented by the various agencies of the Ministry. Such a situation might easily exist, considering that the Ministry's directorates were organized for and accustomed to administering a highly centralized system on the middle and higher levels. Some functionaries understood this type of administration, and were accustomed to thinking in such a context, and to assuming that all final decisions were a matter for the Ministry.

While the Law of Directives and Bases assigned duties to the Ministry of Education and Culture, it made no provisions for the reorganization of the Ministry itself. Thus, the situation which actually existed, after enactment of the law, was that of the Federal Council of Education attempting to *decentralize* the educational system, with the Ministry acting as its executive body but still structured for a *centralized* system. However, in 1965, legislation was under consideration to effect an administrative reorganization of the Ministry along the lines of the 1961 Law.

In some regional offices of the Ministry of Education, varying interpretations of the 1961 Law may still exist. For example, in 1965 regional inspectors in one locality circulated memoranda to the effect that all general secondary schools were still the responsibility of the Ministry; in other localities they advised that inspectors had no responsibility for any secondary school, except those private schools which, according to provision of the law, elected to continue under administration of the Ministry. On the other hand, within the Ministry's offices in Rio de Janeiro and Brasília, there are functionaries who thoroughly understand the implication of the Law of Directives and Bases, and have been diligent in executing the decisions of the Federal Council of Education which are within their responsibility.

THE NATIONAL PLAN FOR EDUCATION

Shortly after its organization, the Federal Council of Education began to formulate the National Plan for Education (*Plano Nacional de Educacăo*) and delivered the completed proposals for approval by the Minister of Education in 1962. The plan was based on the requirements of Article 92 of the Law of Directives and Bases, which stipulated the amounts of Federal tax revenues and of State and municipal income to be used for the development of education. This provision of the 1961 Law in turn derived from a constitutional requirement, and designated the Federal Council of Education as the agency responsible for developing a plan for the use of such funds.

The 1961 Law stated that 90 percent of the Federal funds for education were to be divided into three equal parts to finance the three levels of the school system. Thus, 30 percent was designated for the national fund for elementary-level education; 30 percent for the national fund for middle-level education; and 30 percent for the national fund for higher education.

Although the different levels received equal amounts, they served different percentages of the population. In 1961, there was an enrollment of more than 6,600,000 students in the elementary schools; more than 1,300,000 in the middle-level, and almost 102,000 in schools of higher education. Elementary education in 1961 received most of its support from State and municipal government units, and a majority of middle-level students were enrolled in private schools which received little, if any, Government support. Thus, the private sector provided funds for education not considered in the National Plan.

It should be pointed out that this national plan for education is a method for disbursing funds which in part are administered by the State agencies of education. The overall objective is to increase the degree of public participation in the educational systems as well as to improve the efficiency of instruction. The more specific application of funds is for school-building construction, increase of teachers' salaries, improvement of teacher preparation, funds for the education of exceptional children, support of literacy programs, and the development of programs of instruction in general.

The plan itself determined the method of calculation for the division of funds among the various States, territories, and the Federal District, as well as the different purposes for which the funds were to be used.

1965 Revisions: Goals for 1970

In March 1965, the Federal Council of Education approved a revised plan, based upon the following justifications for the change: The Educational Salary Law (see p. 38) had been passed; the first 3 years of experience with the plan demonstrated the necessity for revision; due to budgetary factors, the plan had been placed only in partial operation. There were also provisions for a

yearly review of the plan, with necessary revisions to be made by the council. The 1965 revision of the plan maintained the same goals, but changed the method of calculating the share of funds which each State would receive, and also the purposes for which the funds would be used.

The following goals were set in the 1965 revision of the plan to be achieved by 1970:[2]

1. 100 percent of the school population from the ages of 7 to 11 to be enrolled in the first 4 years of school, and 70 percent of those 12 to 14 in the fifth and sixth years.

2. 30 percent of the 11 to 14 age group to be enrolled in the first 2 years of the first cycle of the middle-level courses, and 50 percent of the 15-18 in the last 2 years of the same cycle. Also, 30 percent of the 15 to 18 age group was to be enrolled in the second cycle of the secondary level.

3. The expansion of the matriculation in schools of higher education to include at least half of the middle-level graduate.

4. By 1970, all elementary-level teachers were to have some formal teaching education, 20 percent having the regents course, 60 percent the full normal course, and 20 percent some post-secondary training.

5. At least the last 2 years of the elementary courses (the fifth and sixth years) should have a full day of school activities and include industrial arts in their programs administered in adequate shops.

6. The middle-level schools should offer a full 6-hour school day (including practical education) with directed study periods.

7. At least 30 percent of the teachers in schools of higher education should give full time to their teaching duties.

The financial aid provided under the national plan may help in the solution of the pressing problems in the Brazilian elementary school. The shortage of trained teachers could be reduced by increasing salaries, thereby attracting normal school graduates who otherwise would not enter the teaching profession. The lack of financial support has been one of the reasons for the deficit in school facilities and for the poor quality of the classrooms and equipment. Additional facilities and teachers would contribute to the reduction of the number of children who have no opportunity to attend school, and to the achievement of the goal of the national plan to place all the 7-14 age population in school by 1970. To some extent the dropout rate could be reduced by increased investment of human and material resources in education. However, the achievement of the stated goals will be greatly handicapped by the rapid rate of population increase.

[2] Brazil, Ministério de Educação e Cultura, *Plano nacional de educação, 1962*. Revisão de 1965.

EMPLOYER SUPPORT: EDUCATIONAL SALARY LAW

In October 1964, the Educational Salary Law was passed, which increased financial support for elementary education. The law stated that all firms whose employes benefit from social security must contribute a certain percentage of the legal minimum salary per employee for the purposes of education. Exempted from the law are those firms which provide elementary schooling for children of their employes as specified in the law, educational institutions, and nonprofit organizations. Funds are to be collected by the social security institutes, 50 percent of which is designated for the States for elementary education, to be administered by the State councils of education. The other 50 percent of the funds becomes part of the national fund for elementary education.

The Educational Salary Law in effect is a mechanism for meeting the constitutional requirement that firms employing more than 100 persons provide elementary education for the children of their employes. This law also distributes part of the load for the financing of elementary education to smaller firms and to larger firms whose employes may have few children.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

Elementary education was the least affected of all levels by the Law of Directives and Bases. The control of elementary education remains with the State governments, with only general guidelines set by the Law of Directives and Bases. Considerable variation continues in the elementary school system from one State to another.

The normal length of the elementary program is a minimum of 4 years as required by the law, but 5 and 6 years are permitted. Although all States are striving to raise their schools to the 4-year goal, rural schools do not necessarily offer the full elementary program. Some States are continuing their 4-year program as it was before 1961, and others retain the 5-year period. There has been some experimentation with the sixth year of the elementary school, as permitted by the law, allowing the student to enter the second year of the middle level after passing an admission exami-

nation. In Pernambuco, the results were not encouraging, possibly because of an experimental program of automatic promotion in some of the schools of that State.

The intent of the Law of Directives and Bases was not simply to allow a year of middle-level study to be completed in the elementary school. Rather, the intent, in part, was to permit the extension of the elementary program to a 6-year terminal course. The last 2 years stress practical subjects, providing a broader foundation for the student who would not continue to the middle level.

The requirement of the 1961 Law for an annual census of elementary students was initiated nationally in November 1964. This census sought to verify the number of children 5-14 years of age, and the number enrolled in school. Since the usual age for completion of elementary school would be only 11-12 years, and a large percentage of this group does not enter middle-level school, it is not surprising that the 1964 school census revealed that a large percentage of the upper age group, 5-14 years, were not in school. The census indicate that in some cases, such as the State of Guanabara, and the Federal District, opportunity for elementary schooling was available for all school-age children, in either private or public schools, while in other States, large numbers of children are deprived of this opportunity because of lack of facilities. In some regions where sufficient facilities exist, efforts are being made to enforce the provision of the law that all elementary school-age children be enrolled and attend classes.

MIDDLE-LEVEL EDUCATION

Decentralization of controls over middle-level education began with the Federal Council of Education, soon after its organization, inasmuch as some State councils of education were slow in becoming activated. The Federal Council's implementation of the law's requirement on State councils in effect has pressured the State agencies to accept control of the State schools. Federal Council of Education decisions, which were approved on April 14, 1962, stated that the council did not have the legal authority to grant recognition to newly established private middle-level schools.[7] These decisions therefore placed such schools under jurisdiction of the State even before most of the State councils of education were in existence.

Another immediate concern was the status of the state-owned, and the private middle-level schools which chose to operate under State control, in the States which had not yet completed organization of their educational system. In some States, where the educational system had not been recognized by the Federal Council, the regional office (*inspectório seccional*) of the Ministry of Education and Culture were advised school directors that the schools are still under federal jurisdiction, although State secretariats assumed supervision of the schools, and the Federal Council did not take steps to prevent such action.

Factually, the middle-level schools are under the jurisdiction of the system of which they are a part; State-owned schools are components of the State system; Federally owned schools and all institutions in Federal territory are included in the Federal system.

Most private schools in existence before 1962 are remaining under supervision of the Federal agencies. Several factors influence this decision, one of the strongest no doubt being that the schools are accustomed to the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education. Another is that many school directors feel that at the State level, political factors would be of greater significance for the private schools. Also some school directors are of the opinion that supervision from a Federal agency carries more prestige than from a State agency.

Whether schools operate under the Federal or the State system, their charter and bylaws, both subject to the approval of the responsible council, govern many aspects of school life. In these documents are laid down the duties of the administrative officers and teachers, rules of discipline for students, regulations for grading and for examinations, the curriculums to be followed, and the solutions to many questions formerly controlled by the Ministry of Education. In all cases, the approved charters and bylaws must conform to the Law of Directives and Bases.

Under the decentralized systems, the middle-level school directors have much more responsibility than formerly. Decentralization was intended not only to pass jurisdiction to a State level, but also to give school directors more control. At first, the directors, unaccustomed to such authority, seemed to be hesitant and not to under-

[7] Brazil, Ministério da Educação e Cultura, *Documenta*, 1-20-1 (março, 1962) a maio, 1963) pp. 208-209.

stand the significance of their new authority. As time passed and the freedom of the new situation became more apparent, their response was almost unanimously favorable. A few directors, however, would prefer to return to the previous situation, where they had to make few decisions and their responsibility was limited.

Inspection of middle-level schools continues on a limited basis. The Ministry of Education has signed agreements with many schools to discontinue inspection, the movement having begun in the late fifties. The director's responsibilities now include many formerly held by the inspector.

State agencies are developing a system of school inspection. Some educators hope that the school inspector will emerge from the transitional period with more duties of guidance. In any event, the process of decentralization decreases greatly the duties of the inspector, since the individual school has greater autonomy in its operations.

Middle-level education follows the structure prescribed by the Law of Directives and Bases, as stated in chapter 5. The designation of the cycles of all courses is uniform, the first cycle known as the *ginasial* and the second as the *colegial*. The use of these terms is significant, since they applied before 1961 only to the general secondary program, which was university-preparatory in its objective, and was considered to be the most prestigious. Graduates of all middle-level programs are now eligible to seek admission to all institutions of higher education. The middle-level programs also enjoy some of the prestige formerly held by the general secondary schools. This prestige is of importance in the Brazilian concept of what education should be.

Admission Requirements

Article 36 of the Law of Directives and Bases states that for admission to the middle-level school the candidate must be at least 11 years of age during the year, and pass an entrance examination which demonstrates his satisfactory completion of elementary education.

The Federal Council of Education has made two decisions which interpret the legal requirement for entrance to middle-level schools. In March 1962, the Council ruled that a student who had passed the admission examination for any first cycle of the middle-level program was eligible for another program on the same level, depending upon the regulation of the institution to which he sought admission.[4] Another decision in April 1963 made possible a modification of admission procedures. In effect, the decision states that the admission examination need not be required if the school has other evidence that the candidate has satisfactory elementary education. Thus the individual school, by its own bylaws, may determine its criteria for accepting students for the middle-level courses.

In many private schools at the middle level, and in a few public schools having ample facilities for all applicants, students are admitted without examination. Some private institutions which include elementary-level courses do not require examination of their own students for middle-level programs, if they have successfully completed the elementary courses, but make this requirement of all other applicants.

Some middle-level schools accept a certificate of completion of elementary work from any school as sufficient evidence of qualifications. Where the candidates outnumber the capacity of the public school, the admission examination is used as a means of screening students for acceptance, in addition to the certificate of completion.

In the States where a sixth year has been added to some elementary programs, admission to the second year of the first cycle of the middle-level schools has required examination. In some cases, where students in private schools do not pass the middle-level entrance examinations, they are enrolled in the sixth year of elementary school, and then may enter the second year directly. A reported abuse of this provision has occurred in some schools, where students are placed in sixth-year elementary programs instead of the first year of the middle level, because the schools can obtain elementary-level teachers at a lower salary scale.

Teacher Certification

As specified by the Law of 1961, the Ministry of Education continues to be the certification agency for middle-level teachers. The Ministry also provides a short-term summer course for teachers who do not hold a *licenciatura* from a faculty of philosophy, indicating the continuing shortage of fully qualified teachers. Part-time teaching is still a problem at the middle-level.

[4] Ibid., p. 97.

Curriculum

The Law of 1961 was passed less than 3 months before the usual March first opening date for Brazilian middle-level schools. Immediately school directors and teachers expressed considerable doubt that the prescribed curriculum changes would be implemented for school year 1962. On February 16 the Federal Council of Education made it clear that the new law superseded all previous educational legislation.[5] No State councils of education were organized according to the requirements of the Law. Any direction was therefore to come from the Federal Council of Education.

The council then immediately began to consider the middle-level curriculum, as directed by the law.[6] The curriculum as developed includes five required, four complementary, and several optional subjects. The curriculum was to apply also to State schools until the State councils were able to provide the supplementary subjects for their systems.

The required subjects for the general secondary program and years of study for each were:

Subject	*Years*
Portuguese language	7
History	6
Geography	3
Mathematics	6
Science*	6

* (2 years introductory, 4 years of physical and biological science)

Complementary subjects were presented in the curriculum as pairs, with four hypotheses from which the individual school might choose:

First cycle

1. Drawing and Brazilian social and political organization
2. Drawing and a modern foreign language
3. A classical language and a modern foreign language
4. Two modern foreign languages

Second cycle

1. Mathematics and sciences
2. Drawing and a modern foreign language
3. Classical language and a modern foreign language

The optional subjects provided were:

First cycle	*Second cycle*
Modern foreign languages	Modern foreign languages
Music	Greek
Industrial arts	Mineralogy and geology
Commercial techniques	Social studies
Agricultural techniques	Psychology, logic, literature, introduction to the arts, law; introduction to: economics, accounting, library science, baby care, health, and dietics

The council committee suggested that subjects required in one type of curriculum could be used as electives in another. There were also requirements that practical education be given with the subjects listed.[7]

The difference between subjects (*disciplinas*) and practical education (*práticas educativas*) was defined by the Federal Council of Education in July 1962. According to the opinions given, regular subjects are those directed at the progressive and systematic increase of the knowledge of the student.[8] Practical education contributes to the physical, civic, moral, or religious development of the student, the objective being more the maturation of personality than the assimilation of knowledge. The same opinion stated that except for the broad requirement for such education in Article 38 of the Law of 1961, and the requirement that all students have physical education until they reach the age of 18, the question of practical education rests entirely with the individual school.

Commercial Technical Schools [9]

In the first 2 years of the first cycle (*ginásio comercial*) of the commercial course, the required subjects are the same as in all middle-level courses, previously described. The commercial school offers one elective subject. Physical education is required up to the age of 18 years. Practical courses may include civic education, art education, home economics, feminine arts, and industrial arts. The third- and fourth-year programs include Portuguese language, mathematics, commercial and office practice. Science may be offered in either or both of the years, and the elective subject and practical education in the first and second years.

The second cycle (*colégio comercial*) includes 3 years of the Portuguese language, 2 years of mathematics, and 1 or 2 years of physical and

[5] Ibid., p. 10.
[6] Brazil, Ministério da Educação e Cultura, *Documenta* 7 (novembro, 1962): p. 42-43.
[7] Brazil, Ministério da Educação e Cultura, *Documenta* 6 (julho, 1962): p. 46-48.

biological sciences. The school may choose one of a list of 10 elective subjects. Technical subjects for the second cycle depend upon the student's specialty, chosen from accounting, administration, secretarial work, statistics, commerce, and advertising. Two different plans for the second cycle curriculum are provided, according to the varying regional requirements. Night programs in the commercial school require a minimum of 160 days a year of classes.

State System Curriculums

As the State councils of education were activated, the curriculums for the schools operating under their jurisdiction were prepared and distributed. The concept of decentralization and flexibility was reflected at the national level, but the State curriculums, because of the requirements of the Law, were structured somewhat like those issued by the Federal Council. The past rigidity of curriculums, as approved by the Ministry of Education, caused some educators to look naturally to the competent Federal agency for models. In some States the curriculums of the State schools in the capital tended to influence the other public schools in the State, and even to serve as models for private schools operating under State supervision. Possibly this is a reflection of the still existing concept of centralization and to the unwillingness of some directors to experiment with new programs.

Another tendency is the organization of one first-cycle program (with electives and options) for all types of middle-level courses of study. The Law requires that all first-cycle courses have the same required subjects for the first 2 years; the required subjects for the last 2 years are determined by the Federal Council. In some cases the States have expanded this moderate degree of uniformity, and now have essentially the same curriculums for all first-cycle middle-level schools within the State system.

Following the sample of the Federal system curriculums, the State councils have provided second-cycle general secondary curriculums for schools which wish to offer different types of programs. The first 2 years emphasize certain fields of interest according to the provisions of the Law of Directives and Bases, and the third year is even more specialized, giving the student some opportunity for intensive preparation for the university admission examination.

HIGHER EDUCATION

The Law of Directives and Bases stipulates that institutions of higher education should adapt their constitution and bylaws to the requirements of the law within 180 days, a function to be performed by the university councils, or the boards of trustees for some private schools. In each case there were necessarily committee reports and discussions by responsible groups. Only with some haste could the required alterations be effected within the given time limit of the law. While the 180-day period was not strictly observed, the Federal Council of Education was soon receiving revised versions of the basic documents of universities and independent faculties. In most cases, the council suggested alterations and returned the documents to the schools for further revision. Also, the council began consideration for the authorization of new faculties, and other provisions concerning university schools.

Considerable autonomy is allowed universities, with few limitations, but the provisions of the Law of Directives and Bases must be observed. The universities' constitutions and bylaws must be approved by the Federal Council. The minimum curriculum required must be offered. Universities which receive government funds must account for their use. The list of candidates for rectors and directors of government-operated universities must be presented to the proper authority for selection. The names of the successful candidates in *concurso* examinations in public institutions are also submitted for appointments. Otherwise, schools of higher education now function with considerable autonomy.

The Federal Council has defined university autonomy as an attribute of the university as a whole, not of the various faculties that compose it, and has presented the opinion that the university should be a "community" in the use of its rights.[1]

The implementation of university autonomy has been broad. The Federal Council has refused to act on or offer opinions on questions which it considered to be the responsibility of the institution. Some administrative and teaching staffs also have acted with independence on the organization of programs and the acceptance of new approaches in studies and instruction.

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[1] Brasil, Ministério da Educação e Cultura, Documenta (6) (dezembro, 1962), p. 110.

TABLE 12.—*Total higher education enrollment by States, and percent of enrollment in each: 1961*

States	Total enrollment	Percent of enrollment
Total	101,581	100.0
Amazonas	308	0.3
Pará	1,221	1.2
Maranhão	668	0.6
Piauí	324	0.3
Ceará	2,447	2.4
Rio Grande do Norte	578	0.5
Pariba	1,178	1.1
Pernambuco	5,971	5.8
Alagôas	1,008	0.9
Sergipe	355	0.3
Bahia	4,094	3.9
Minas Gerais	9,993	9.8
Espirito Santo	1,064	0.9
Rio de Janeiro	4,399	4.3
Guanabara	18,271	17.9
São Paulo	28,880	28.4
Paraná	7,164	7.0
Santa Catarina	779	0.7
Rio Grande do Sul	11,341	11.1
Mato Grosso	184	0.1
Goiás	1,414	1.3

Source: Adapted from: Brasil, Ministério da Educação e Cultura, *Sinopse estatístico do ensino superior—1961*, p. 27.

Curriculums

The Law of Directives and Bases placed responsibility on the Federal Council of Education for organizing minimum curriculums for higher education programs which grant diplomas or degrees qualifying the holder to practice a profession. The sequence of subjects, their content, and organization are determined by the staff of the individual school, and the school may choose additional subjects for its curriculum.

In February 1962 the Minister of Education approved a decision of the Federal Council that institutions of higher education for the 1962 school year should continue the same curriculums of 1961.[11] The council began to issue new minimum curriculum requirements for university-level courses by September 1962, and announced that the new programs would come into effect for the 1963 school year (table 13). In case of any dilemma arising in the period of transition, the Ministry of Education would issue instructions for solving the problem. In any case, all first-year students were to begin their studies under the new curriculum. Schools of higher education were encouraged to take advantage of their autonomy and to design programs which would consider the needs of the region where they were located.[12]

TABLE 13.—*Minimum higher education programs prescribed by the Federal Council of Education, and years required for each: Brazil, 1963*

Programs	Years required
Accounting, actuarial, and economic sciences (*Economistas, atuários, e contadores*)	4
Agriculture (*Agronomia*)	4
Architecture and city planning (*Arquitetura e urbanismo*)	5
Biological sciences[1 0] (*Ciências biológicas*)	4
Chemistry or industrial chemistry (*Químico ou químico industrial*)	4
Chemistry[9] (*Químico*)	4
Dentistry (*Odontologia*)	4
Drafting[9] (*Desenho*)	4
Education[1 9] (*Pedagogia*)	4
Engineering—Civil, mechanical, electrical, metallurgical, mining, naval, and chemical (*Engenharia—civil, mecânica, Elétrica, metalúrgica, de minas, naval, e química*)	5
Forestry engineering (*Engenharia florestal*)	4
Geography (*Geografia*)	4
Geology (*Geologia*)	4
Guidance and counseling[9] (*Orientação educativa*)	1
History (*História*)	4
Journalism (*Jornalismo*)	3
Law[9] (*Direito*)	5
Letters (*Letras*)	4
Library science (*Biblioteconomia*)	3
Mathematics[9] (*Matemática*)	4
Medicine (*Medicina*)	6
Music (*Música*)	3-4

[9] *Documenta* (8), p. 10-16.
[10] See footnote at end of table.

TABLE 13.—(*Continued*)

Programs	Years required
Natural history [2]	4
(*História natural*)	
Nursing (general program)	3
(*Enfermagem geral*)	
Obstetrical nursing	General program plus 1 year
(*Enfermagem obstétrica*)	
Public health nursing	2 years of general program plus 1 year of specialization
(*Enfermagem de saúde pública*)	
Nutritionist [3]	3
(*Nutritionista*)	
Occupational physical therapy	3
(*Fisioterapista ocupacional*)	
Pharmacy	
(*Farmácia*)	
Biochemical pharmacist	4
(*Farmacêutico bioquímico*)	
Pharmacist (general)	3
(*Farmacêutico*)	
Philosophy	4
(*Filosfia*)	
Physical education and sports technician	3
(*Educação física e técnico desportiva*)	
Physics [3]	4
(*Física*)	
Psychologist	5
(*Psicólogo*)	
Psychology [4]	4
(*Psicologia*)	
Social sciences	4
(*Ciências sociais*)	
Social work	4 [5]
(*Serviço social*)	
Veterinary medicine	4
(*Medicina veterinária*)	

[1] The organization of the curriculum specifies the possibility of awarding the *bacharelado* degree.

[2] The organization of the curriculum specifies the possibility of awarding the licentiate (*licenciatura*). For the purposes of earning the licentiate, the teacher's certificate for the secondary level schools, subjects in education may be added to other programs, although the title is not mentioned in the minimum curriculum.

[3] This is considered to be a postgraduate program and therefore requires for admission the completion of a related higher education course of study; however, students who hold the licentiate are not required to repeat subjects which they have previously studied.

[4] A year of internship may be added to the program.

[5] The 1962 decision by the Federal Council of Education stipulated a 3-year curriculum, but this was changed to 4 years in 1964.

In reference to the supplementary subjects, the council stated plainly that it did not regulate such selections nor did the Law approach this point. The school was to have full autonomy in organization of its curriculum.[10] Neither did the council request that any completed curriculum for higher education be presented for approval. Thus, a program may be presented in different professional schools, and a combination of programs may exist according to the regulations of the individual institution. The minimum curriculums presented by the council clearly indicate that the professional orientation of Brazilian higher education will continue.

The different study programs vary considerably in the number of subjects offered, and in their duration, from 3 years for library science, physical education, journalism and other subjects, to 6 years for medicine and some music programs. Most engineering programs require 5 years and some combinations of specialties, 6 years. Some programs are divided into basic and professional cycles. Minimum curriculums for postgraduate and specialization studies are not regulated by the Federal Council of Education.

Usually at the end of his program of study, the student receives a professional title which when properly registered confers the right to practice a profession. The faculties of law offer the degree of *bacharel* and the faculties of philosophy and letters offer a *licenciado* as well. The two degrees are the same level, the difference being that the holder of the *licenciado* has studied the subject necessary for registration as a middle-level school teacher.[11] The requirements for the *doctorado* vary from one university to another, but the basic requisite is still the preparation and defense of a thesis, based on independent study without resident requirements. Postgraduate work in Brazilian universities is still limited, because of the predominant professional nature of higher education in the country, and it is traditionally different from graduate programs in the United States. However, there is increasing influence of U.S. higher education on Brazilian postgraduate studies.

Decisions of the Federal Council in 1962 and 1963 define the length of programs of higher education in terms of years. In 1963 this concept was modified by a decree of the Ministry of Education supporting the council's decision which defined the duration of a program in terms of class hours, with a median, maximum and minimum number permitted each year. The total class hours required for a designated program of study varies from 1,200 for guidance and counseling to 5,400 hours for medicine. The medical program allowed as few as 360 class hours per year and a maximum of 1,080, thus permitting a program, in

[10] See p. 50.

[11] See p. 49.

terms of years, to be as short as 5 or as long as 10 years. By following the medium number of class hours per year, all programs would have the same duration in years as determined by the 1962 and 1963 decisions of the council. It is believed that most schools will adopt the medium number and that the duration of programs in terms of years will remain stable.[15]

The life-time *catedrático* in Brazilian institutions is the keystone of the teaching profession on the higher level. In most of the faculties and universities, and in all schools under the Federal system, this status is a prerequisite for election as director of a school or as the rector of a university. With almost autonomous powers, which are usually jealously guarded, the *catedrático* is in a position to block almost any change which he may see as a threat to his prerogatives. Whether a value or not, the *catedrático* remains an important factor in Brazilian higher education.

Student Representation

In adapting their constitutions and bylaws according to the Law of 1961, schools of higher education were required to include provisions for student representation on university, faculty, and departmental councils, but there was no stipulation as to the number of students participating. The Federal Council of Education ruled that no legal demand existed for student representation in executive committees (*conselho técnico administrativo*) which perform important and extensive functions in many schools. Opinions as to the result of student representation have been both negative and positive. Some professors doubt that the students understand enough about the administration of a university to make any notable contribution, but they find value in the fact that there is now an official connection between student groups and the university administration. Some have feared that the students would be a disrupting influence, considering the traditional separation between student and teacher. In some schools, student representation was interrupted for a while after April 1, 1964, upon termination of the Goulart regime, but with the later reorganization of student groups their representatives have returned to the school councils.

[15] *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos*, Vol. XLIII, (1965), No. 98, pp. 349-377.

Student Organization

In September 1964 a bill was introduced in the Brazilian Congress, designed to regulate student organizations. Student groups had been closely allied with the Goulart regime, and were generally considered to be instruments of leftist forces. After April 1964 the Government dissolved most of the student organizations, and prohibited almost all types of student activities. The 1964 legislation recognized certain student groups and defined the limits of their operation. Other student organizations were not to receive government support, or to be recognized as the representatives of the student class. The official groups are organized on the national, State, university, and faculty level, and are the competent organs for electing student representatives to the various school councils. All students are required to vote in student elections, and there are provisions to eliminate the "professional" [16] student from holding office in student organizations. Only full-time students who are not repeating the year may be elected for 1-year terms in student offices, re-election to the same office being prohibited. Article 1 of the 1964 legislation states the purposes for student organizations, and does not include political activity, which is definitely ruled out in another article. Also, any movement to instigate absence from classes is prohibited, a measure designed to eliminate student strikes.

Student reaction to the restrictive legislation has not been favorable. Elections have been held with blank votes being cast in protest of the legislation. Strikes, though brief, have occurred, supposedly provoked by administrative measures, but political issues have been injected into the movements. Generally speaking, the students do not have the influence which they formerly held, and in 1965, were in the process of attempting to discover to what extent enforcement of the law would modify their basic groups.

GENERAL ENROLLMENT TRENDS

Although it is too early to attribute certain trends in Brazilian education to the operation of the Law of Directives and Bases, it should be noted that during the years following the initial implementation of the Law there have been indications of growth in enrollments. In order to place these

[16] "Professional" refers to individuals whose primary purpose in schools is political agitation, and enroll only to be legally classified as a student.

developments in perspective, it is necessary to make a comparison of enrollment data for the 5 years (1946-61) preceding the approval of the law and the data for the 5 years after the Law became effective (1961-66).

The 10-year span was a period of rapid population growth with Brazil's population increase rate being one of the highest in the world and the highest of any of the larger nations. The estimated population of the country in 1956 was a little above 60 millions;[17] for 1961, above 71 millions; and for 1966, almost 84 millions,[18] or an increase of 18 percent for each of the 5-year periods.

For all levels of education, the percentage of enrollment increase was above the population increase of the country. In the 5 years after the law became effective, elementary school enrollments increased by 37 percent, whereas the previous 5 years' increase was 32 percent[19] (table 14). The percentage of students in private schools decreased, as did the percentage in rural schools. There was a slight increase in the percentage of the total enrollment in state controlled schools. The 1961 Law affected the elementary level less than it changed the other levels, the responsibility for the elementary schools remaining with the State and municipal governments, as before 1961.

The overall enrollment increase for the middle level, 1961 to 1966, was 84 percent as compared with 51 percent for the 1956-1961 period (table 15). The percentage of students enrolled in state operated schools also increased significantly. The distribution of the students by programs varied little, with more than 80 percent of the students continuing to be enrolled in the general secondary and the normal school programs.

The middle level was greatly affected by the Law of Directives and Bases. Responsibility for administration was shifted to a large degree to the States, and the flexible provisions of the law facilitated the establishment of many more schools. Considering the enrollment increase in State-operated schools, it is clear that the State Government's acceptance of the additional responsibility has been more than perfunctory.

Higher education enrollments increased at a much higher rate from the 5-year period, 1961-1966, than in the preceding 5 years, the percent of increase rising from 31 to 79. The total enrollment figures covering the period of 10 years were:[20] 1956, 75,824; 1961, 101,581; 1966, 182,065.

TABLE 14.—*Total elementary school enrollment, and percent of enrollment, by types of schools: 1956, 1961, 1966*

Year	Enrollment	Public		Private	Rural	Urban
		Total	State			
		Percent of enrollment				
1956	5,886,554 [1]	87.7	56.5	12.3	40.8	59.2
1961	7,798,732 [2]	88.8	64.3	11.2	39.6	60.4
1966	10,695,391 [3]	89.4	65.5	10.6	37.8	62.2

Source: [1] *Anuário estatístico do Brasil—1958*, p. 258. (General matriculation).
[2] *Ibid.*—1963, p. 359. (General Matriculation).
[3] *Ibid.*—1967, p. 552. (Initial Matriculation).

TABLE 15.—*Total middle-level school enrollment and percent of enrollment, by types of schools: 1956, 1961, 1966*

Year	Enrollment	Percent of enrollment		
		Public		Private
		Total	State	
1956	824,107 [1]	50.7	24.1	49.3
1961	1,308,044 [2]	34.5	29.5	65.5
1966	2,403,212 [3]	50.7	48.6	49.3

Source:
[1] *Sinopse estatística do ensino médio—1959*, pp. 19, 28, 31, 38, 39.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1961, p. 7.
[3] *Anuário estatístico do Brasil—1967*, p. 605.

Higher institutions have operated with considerably more freedom under the 1961 Law, and its more liberal procedures for the establishment of new schools has resulted in an increased number

[17] Brazil, Conselho Nacional de Estatística, *Anuário estatístico do Brasil—1956*, p. 35.
[18] *Ibid.*, 1967, p. 37.
[19] The real increase may have been larger, but does not appear so due to a change in statistical procedures.
[20] *Anuário estatístico do Brasil—1956*, p. 360; *Sinopse estatística do ensino Superior—1961*, p. 15; and *Anuário estatístico do Brasil—1967*, pp. 603, 608.

of institutions. While distribution of enrollments by programs changed little from 1961 to 1966, there were notable increases in the percentage of total enrollments in the schools of engineering and the schools of economic sciences, with a slight decrease in the proportion enrolled in law schools (tables 11 and 16).

As yet there are few indications that the Law of Directives and Bases has signficantly affected the elementary school retention rates (table 17). According to the enrollment data for 1964, 1965, and 1966, about half of the students are in the first grade. Even in the State capitals, about 35 percent of the students are first graders.[21] The overall retention rates for the elementary level continue to be affected by the rural schools, which frequently offer only 1 or 2 years of schooling and are directed by teachers who have little preparation. According to the 1964 school census, 31 percent of all elementary school teachers in Brazil have only an elementary school education or less.[22] The Law of Directives and Bases gives very little attention to the rural schools.

The retention rates for the middle level have increased since 1961, and if the trend continues it could soon reach significant proportions.

[21] *Annuário estatístico do Brasil*—1967. p. 556.
[22] Brazil. Ministério de Educação e Cultura. *II Conferência Nacional de Educação*. Vol. I. p. 141.

TABLE 16.—*Total higher education enrollment, by level and field of study: 1966*

Level	Total enrollment	Percent of total
Undergraduate	180,109	99.1
Postgraduate	1,790	0.9
Total	181,899	100.0
Undergraduate Programs	***Undergraduate enrollment***	***Percent of undergraduates***
Philosophy, science and letters	44,802	24.7
Law	36,363	20.0
Engineering	26,603	14.6
Administration and economic sciences	24,027	13.2
Medicine	17,152	9.4
Dentistry	6,794	3.6
Agriculture	4,852	2.6
Social work	3,121	1.7
Architecture and urban design	2,774	1.5
Pharmacy	2,619	1.4
Veterinary medicine	1,991	1.1
Fine arts	1,866	1.0
Journalism	1,361	0.7
Nursing	1,266	0.7
Physical education	1,140	0.6
Library science	978	0.5
Other	2,445	1.3
Total	180,109	100.0

Source: Adapted from *Annuário Estatístico do Brasil*—1967. pp. 693 and 698.

TABLE 17.—*Retention rates, per 100 students entering first grade of elementary-level school, through middle-level: 1942-55*

Years in school	Elementary level in grade—				Middle level in grade—						
					Ginasial cycle				Colegial cycle		
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3
1942-52	100	40.5	27.4	15.5	7.1	5.3	4.4	3.4	3.4	2.7	1.9
1943-53	100	41.6	28.3	15.8	7.9	5.7	4.7	3.9	3.8	2.9	2.2
1944-54	100	41.8	29.1	17.0	7.8	5.8	4.9	4.0	3.9	3.2	2.2
1945-55	100	41.2	29.2	16.9	7.6	6.0	5.0	4.1	4.1	3.1	2.3
1946-56	100	41.2	28.7	17.0	8.0	6.2	5.1	4.2	4.2	3.2	2.3
1947-57	100	41.6	28.5	17.1	8.1	6.3	5.3	4.3	4.2	3.2	2.7
1948-58	100	38.0	27.2	16.0	7.7	6.2	5.1	4.2	4.1	3.0	2.6
1949-59	100	38.7	27.5	16.1	8.4	6.2	5.3	4.3	4.2	3.1	2.6
1950-60	100	38.5	26.6	16.0	8.6	6.9	5.5	4.4	4.3	3.1	2.7
1951-61	100	38.4	26.8	17.0	8.6	7.1	5.6	4.5	4.5	3.2	2.7
1952-62	100	38.5	27.6	17.2	9.2	7.3	5.9	4.7	4.6	3.5	3.0
1953-63	100	40.0	28.8	18.0	9.2	7.9	6.2	5.0	5.0	3.7	3.3
1954-64	100	39.4	28.2	18.1	10.0	8.0	6.4	5.3	5.1	4.0	3.5
1955-65	100	39.8	28.8	18.7	10.0	8.1	6.6	5.4	5.4	4.3	3.9

Source: Brazil. Ministério de Educação e Cultura. *Grupo Executivo de Ensino Médio*—1965. No page number.

CONCLUSION

The Law of Directives and Bases of National Education, approved by the Brazilian Congress in December 1961, was the result of more than 15 years of thought and effort to implement the educational provisions of the Constitution of 1946. The final legislation resulted from many compromises, and, although recognized as imperfect by most Brazilian educators, it was the law which it was possible to pass at the time. Government authorities began immediately to implement and apply its provisions to the educational scene. Complete implementation was impossible; however, the process was initiated and is continuing, and will continue for some years. The real achievements of the law can be known only after it has been in effect for at least 10 years, or as some Brazilian educators believe, perhaps 20 years. This one point should be clearly understood—*that the process of implementing the Law was initiated soon after final approval of the legislation and is continuing.*

The decentralization of the Brazilian educational system, one of the primary objectives of the law, is already becoming a reality. The Federal Council of Education began functioning in 1962, and has been an active agent in transferring the responsibility for education to other sources, as provided by the law. In part, the administrative responsibility for middle-level education now rests with the States and the individual schools, as permitted by the law. On the level of higher education, the constitutions and bylaws of the universities and faculties are amended to allow the degree of autonomy as stipulated by the law.

The governmental administrative responsibility for institutions of higher education is retained at the Federal level, but the supervision is definitely limited, so that the decentralization is from the Ministry of Education to the individual faculty or university. In only two States, Guanabara and São Paulo, has some of the governmental responsibility for higher education been transferred to the State agencies.

Another primary objective of the Law of Directives and Bases was to afford some degree of flexibility in the Brazilian educational system as a whole. The legislation provides for variations in programs at the elementary level, and several States have initiated new programs accordingly. The overall structure of middle-level education remains more or less uniform throughout the Nation, but a definite, though limited, amount of flexibility of curriculum is provided.

As for subject content, teachers now have the responsibility for its organization and presentation in the classroom. Higher education is subject to two principal governmental controls under the law: One, requiring that the constitution and bylaws of universities and of independent faculties be approved by the responsible council of education; and the other, requiring that the minimum curriculum, as stipulated by the Federal Council of Education, be offered for programs whose diplomas may be used for professional licensing.

With such autonomy granted by the Law of Directives and Bases, uniformity of organization and of programs of study is no longer a characteristic of Brazilian schools of higher education, but the basic unit is still the "faculty." The minimum curriculums presented by the Federal Council of Education are introductory or general for programs of study leading to the practice of a profession, and are not designed to be offered by any particular faculty of a university. Thus, a variety of studies of widely different nature could in theory be offered under a single institutional program.

Probably the more significant innovation in this direction, and implemented in a few instances, is a new aproach in the offering of introductory subjects common to several faculties. Universities experimenting with such programs utilize a 2-year general course in institutes or schools of general studies for the teaching of subjects which are required of first- or second-year students, regardless of the profession which they intend to follow. This plan eliminates duplication of teaching functions necessary when each university faculty, each with separate staff and equipment, offers the same introductory subjects generally required. The new practice results in economy of laboratories, classrooms, and teaching staffs. After these first 2 years in general studies, the student would, of course, continue his preparation in the particular university school offering his specialization.

Such innovations are possible under the Law of Directives and Bases, but a strong obstacle to the flexibility permitted still remains. Administrators in some institutions are open-minded in their desire to initiate experiments, but find that the traditions of Brazilian universities and the nature of the university school may prevent their doing so.

The effort to inject some flexibility in the relationship between programs of study at the several

levels was not strong, or highly successful. Articulation between the elementary and the middle level, for example, is now more flexible through a liberal interpretation for admission examinations of the middle-level schools, rather than by the apparent coordination of the 6-year elementary school. The provision for eligibility of graduates of all middle-level schools for the university admission examination has greatly facilitated the student's preparation for higher institutions. Within the various middle-level programs the individual school may now be more flexible in its conditions for receiving students transferring from other schools and other types of programs.

With the break from the formerly highly centralized responsibility for a large part of the Brazilian educational system, and in the uniformity of curriculum and program organization, Brazilian educators are already experiencing some problems. One is the difficulty of transferring students from a school whose curriculum differs from that of the school they desire to enter. Adaptation examinations are a mechanism to enable such transfers, but some educators foresee a day when students will have a choice of a variety of subjects within the program. This solution would facilitate the transition, but would increase the cost of education.

Another problem encountered by some educators is the setting of standards for the various levels of education. With decentralized authority, it is possible, on the secondary level, for one State to have more or fewer requirements than a neighboring State, as long as the State council of education demands meet the minimum set by the Federal Council of Education.

A related problem foreseen by educators is that of maintaining the standards set by the responsible council. Certain schools may meet only minimum standards, whereas others seek to provide much broader education than that prescribed by the responsible council. The truth is that even under the very rigid centralized system of the past, when there was supposedly close inspection, some schools conformed to the minute regulations only in the most formal sense.

As the Law of Directives and Bases now stands, the Federal Government still retains some responsibility for the setting of standards but shares its authority with the State agencies. However, with greater freedom and responsibility given to the classroom teacher, the implementation of standards rests with the school directors and the professors, and the real responsibility for the quality of education, in the school and the classroom.

The implementation of the law with respect to the financing of education is expressed in the national plan of education, formulated in 1962 and revised in 1965. This plan was not entirely successful in its first years of operation, but does attempt to place Federal funds at the disposition of schools on all levels. The Educational Salary Law, passed in 1964, is an alternate mechanism for implementing the requirement that commercial and industrial firms of a certain size privide elementary-level education for the children of their employees.

Some negative factors have influenced the implementation of the Law of Directives and Bases. From an administrative point of view, the Ministry of Education and Culture was organized in conformity with a centralized system of middle-level and higher education, and for more than 30 years functioned within that context. The law did not call for reorganization of the Ministry, so its structure was not geared for the administration of a decentralized education system. On the State level, there are varying patterns of the State councils of education, some of which integrate the council within the existing State secretariat of education. This and other factors have led some States to attempt to centralize middle-level education on a State-centered base, which to some extent substitutes for the Federal ministry.

An important limitation on decentralization and full implementation and flexibility of the law is the approach to which Brazilian educators were accustomed. From the 1930's to 1961, problems were solved according to the decisions of the Ministry of Education, and it was unnecessary for teachers and administrators to make many decisions now required of them. The educational system was understood as being rigid and controlled by the Federal agency, and regardless of voiced complaints, this was the system of educational administration which was accepted and used. Especially on the middle level, the changes provided by the Law of 1961 came as somewhat of a shock to many teachers, who for the first time had to organize their own plans for the presentation of subject matter in the classroom, and to the administrator, who before never had to organize a curriculum. The tendency has been to continue as before, and tradition will continue until new approaches and new thinking make possible fuller implementation of the law.

The law does not deal directly with the problem of rural education. Rural normal schools are permitted, and rural universities are exempt from certain requirements, but no other provisions exist for rural education. Since the majority of the labor force is engaged in agricultural pursuits, Brazilian educators are justified in their criticism of the law for not confronting the problems of education in the rural areas, and this fact challenges the claim that education is the right of all.

The Law of Directives and Bases has not changed and could not change the Brazilian concept of what education should be. It is a legal document dealing primarily with the structure and administration of education, and not with value concepts of the society. The important point is that with decentralization and provisions for flexibility, there are provisions which can allow Brazilian educators to adjust the educational system to the changing necessities of the society. With changing concepts of what education should be and how it should serve the Nation, the formal educational structure can be modified. No doubt the possibility of development is now greater without the former restricting centralization which allowed for little or no flexibility.

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